

Xenophon,

History of the affairs of Greece

London 1812

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Xenophon

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Xenophon

HISTORY
OF
THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

Printed by J. Moyes, Greville Street, London.

XENOPHON'S HISTORY

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AFFAIRS OF GREECE

HISTORY

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

BY

WILLIAM SMITH, D.D. DEAN OF CHESTER

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE

A NEW EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. WALKER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON

AND SOLD BY J. WALKER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, LONDON

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1812

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PREFACE.

THE translator of this valuable piece of Xenophon looks upon himself as now discharging a debt to the public. The favourable reception of his translation of Thucydides was urged, and, with gratitude be it spoken, was urged by the late Earl Granville, as an obligation upon him to copy in the English language what Xenophon had written originally in Greek in regard to the Peloponnesian war; namely, the continuation of it till the naval power of the Athenians was demolished, and the city of Athens surrendered to her foes. This is properly the end of the Peloponnesian war. But, as the state of Lacedæmon, elated with the consequential enlargement of her power, exerted it in too haughty and imperious a manner, the resentment of other states was raised, and a war ensued, in which Sparta was well nigh ruined, and the sovereignty of Greece transferred to Thebes. The battle of Mantinea, in which the Thebans, by losing Epaminondas, lost their all, closed this eager struggle for supremacy in Greece, and left its several states a commodious prey to Philip of Macedon, who soon after began to act. In this piece of Xenophon, the history of Greece is continued from the time Thucydides breaks off, down to that famous battle, including the space of near fifty years.

Never had historian who left his work imperfect, so illustrious a continuator as Thucydides found in Xenophon. They were both of them men of excellent sense.

They both lived in the times, and had competent knowledge of the facts they describe. They were both Athenians, had been generals, and were both in exile when they wrote their histories. But a man more accomplished in all respects than Xenophon will not easily be found. He was the greatest hero, and at the same time the genteelst writer, of his age. Instructed and formed by Socrates, he exemplified his useful philosophy in the whole conduct of his life. And it will be hard to decide, which are most excellent in their kind, his historical or his philosophical writings. The style of both hath that sweetness, that ease, that perspicuity, and that simplicity, which remain envied and unequalled, and must give all his translators no small anxiety about their own success. He especially has abundant reason to be alarmed, who, after being so long employed in copying a different style in Thucydides, has attempted the manner of Xenophon. He is sensible of the daringness of such an attempt, has no small terrors about its success, and puts his whole confidence in the judgment of the late Earl Granville, who had perused some parts of it in manuscript, and honoured the translator with his commands to complete and publish the work.

As the Greek text is sometimes faulty, the translator hath made no scruple to adopt the marginal reading of the best editions, if it fixed or cleared the sense to an English reader. He hath also ventured to translate some passages according to the conjectural, but sagacious, emendations of the late reverend Dr. Taylor, residentiary of St. Paul's.

The translator, in the *Life of Thucydides*, p. 15, hath said, "There is a chasm between the time the history

"of Thucydides breaketh off, and the Grecian history of
 "Xenophon beginneth."—He said it upon the authority
 of Archbishop Usher, but hath seen abundant reason
 since to be diffident of the fact. The *Annales Xeno-*
phontei of the learned Dodwell seem to prove, from
 variety of arguments, a close connexion between them.
 The chronology is therefore set in the margins according
 to his elaborate and clear adjustment of the time.

It should not, and needs not, be dissembled, that this
 piece hath already been translated into English by Mr.
 Newman. It is printed in octavo, and dated in the year
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HISTORY

OF

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK I.

The War carried on vigorously at Sea between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians.—The Battle of Cyzicus, in which the latter are defeated, and Mindarus their Admiral is slain.—Hermocrates turned out of his Command by the Syracusans, and banished.—Alcibiades recalled by the Athenians, but soon after disgraced again and ruined.—Lysander sent by the Lacedæmonians to command at Sea; and next Year succeeded by Callicratidas.—The Sea-fight of Arginusæ; and the Prosecution at Athens against their victorious Commanders.

NOT many days after this, Thymochares arrived from Athens with a few ships; and immediately the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had another engagement at sea: but the Lacedæmonians, commanded by Hegesandridas, got the victory.

Soon after, in the beginning of winter, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, stands into the Hellespont, at day-light, with fourteen ships from Rhodes. The sentinel of the Athenians, having a sight of him,

Year of the Peloponnesian war 21, latter end.

Before Christ 411.

Continuation of the war in the Hellespont.

Mindarus beaten at sea.

BOOK I.

made proper signals to the commanders. They put out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus, flying before them, ran his ships on shore, as he was clearing it, on the cape of Rhæteum. But, the enemy coming up close to them, they defended themselves both from their ships and the shore, till at length the Athenians stood away to their naval station at Madytus, after a fruitless attack. Mindarus, who saw this attack, as he was then at Ilium sacrificing to Minerva, hastened down to the sea to help his friends; and, after laying his vessels afloat, he sailed up^a to fetch off the ships under Dorieus. Upon this, the Athenians, putting out again, engaged him on the coast near Abydus, and fought from morning till night. One while they had the better of it, another while they had the worse, till Alcibiades joins them with eighteen sail. Then began the flight of the Peloponnesians to Abydus. But Pharnabazus marched down to their relief; and, advancing on horseback into the sea as far as possibly he could, he exerted himself in their defence, and encouraged his troops, both horse and foot, to do their best. The Peloponnesians, closing their ships firm together with their heads towards the enemy, continued the fight on the very beach. At length the Athenians, carrying off with them thirty empty ships of the enemy, and all their own that were disabled, sailed away to Sestus. From thence, all their ships, excepting forty, went out of the Hellespont on different

^a The Greek text is *απεπλει*, but the word required by the sense is *επεπλει*. Dr. Taylor.

cruises, to fetch in contributions. And Thrasyllus, one of the commanders, set sail for Athens, to notify the late success, and to beg a reinforcement of men and ships.

After these transactions, Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont, where he arrested Alcibiades, who came in a single ship to visit him, and to offer him the presents of hospitality and friendship. He then sent him prisoner to Sardis; alleging express orders from the king to make war upon the Athenians. Yet, thirty days after, Alcibiades, and Mantitheus too, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, having provided themselves with horses, escaped by night from Sardis to Clazomenæ. In the mean-time, the Athenians, at Sestus, having received intelligence that Mindarus was coming against them with sixty ships, fled away by night to Cardia. And here Alcibiades joined them with five ships and a row-boat from Clazomenæ. But receiving advice that the fleet of the Peloponnesians was sailed from Abydus to Cyzicus, he went himself to Sestus by land, and ordered the ships round to the same place. When the ships were arrived at Sestus, and he was fully bent on going out to sea and engaging, Theramenes joins him with twenty ships from Macedonia, and Thrasybulus at the same time with twenty more from Thasus, having both of them collected contributions. Alcibiades, leaving orders with them to follow, after they had taken out the great masts of their vessels, sailed himself to Parium. And when the whole fleet was assembled at Parium, to the number of eighty-six ships, the night follow-

Alcibiades
made prisoner.

His escape.

Year of the
Peloponnesian
war 22. Before
Christ 410.

BOOK I.

ing they went to sea, and next day about the hour of repast they reach Proconnesus. Here they were informed that "Mindarus is at Cyzicus, and "Pharnabazus too with the land-force." This day, therefore, they continued at Proconnesus. But the day following, Alcibiades called an assembly, and expatiated on the necessity they were under of engaging the enemy at sea, and engaging them too at land, and also of attacking their towns:—"For we," says he, "are in want of money, whilst "our enemies are plentifully supplied by the king." But the day before, when they came to this station, he had drawn round about his own vessel the whole force, both the great and the smaller ships, that no one might be able to inform the enemy exactly of their number; and made public proclamation, that "whoever should be caught attempting to cross over the sea, should be punished "with death." And now, after holding the assembly, and making all needful preparations for an engagement, he set sail for Cyzicus in a heavy rain. And when he was near it, the weather clearing up and the sun breaking out, he had a view of the ships of Mindarus, to the amount of sixty, exercising themselves at a distance from the harbour, and fairly intercepted by him. On the other hand, the Peloponnesians, seeing the ships of Alcibiades to be much more numerous than usual, and close in with the harbour, fled away to the shore; and there, having ranged into regular order, they received the enemy's attack. But Alcibiades, after stretching to a distance with twenty of the ships, landed with his men. Min-

darus seeing this, landed also, and engaging, was killed on shore; but all his men were at once in flight. The Athenians returned to Proconnesus, carrying away with them all the ships of the enemy except three of the Syracusans, for these were burnt by the Syracusans themselves. Next day the Athenians returned from thence to Cyzicus: and the inhabitants of Cyzicus, as the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had abandoned the place, received the Athenians. But Alcibiades, after continuing with them twenty days, and exacting a large sum of money from the Cyzicenes, though doing no other harm in any shape to the city, sailed back to Proconnesus. From thence he sailed to Perinthus and Selymbria; and the Perinthians received his forces into their city; whereas the Selymbrians received them not, but gave him a sum of money. Going from thence to Chrysopolis of Chalcedonia, they fortified the place, and appointed it to be the station for collecting tenths: and here a tenth was levied on all vessels from Pontus. Leaving, therefore, thirty ships for the guard of Chrysopolis, and two of the commanders, Theramenes and Eubulus, to take care of its preservation, to oblige the ships to pay the duty, and to lay hold of every opportunity to annoy the enemy, the rest of the commanders departed to the Hellespont.

The letter sent to Lacedæmon from Hippocrates, lieutenant to Mindarus, was intercepted and carried to Athens. The contents were these:—"Success is at an end. Mindarus is killed. The men are starving. We know not what to do."

A Lacedæmonian letter.

BOOK I.

But Pharnabazus was animating all the Peloponnesians and Syracusans too; exhorting them, “not to despond, so long as themselves were safe, for the loss of a parcel of timber, since enough might again be had in the dominions of his master;” and then he gave to every man a suit of apparel and two months’ pay. He also distributed proper arms to the mariners, and stationed them as guards of his own maritime provinces. He then summoned the generals of the different states and the captains of ships to assemble, whom he ordered to rebuild, at Antandros, as many vessels as they had severally lost, furnishing them with money, and directing them to fetch the necessary timber from mount Ida. Yet, amidst the hurry of rebuilding the fleet, the Syracusans assisted the Antandrians in finishing a part of their walls, and of all the people now within that garrison, were the most obliging to them. Upon this account the Syracusans are honoured with the solemn acknowledgment of being benefactors to Antandros, and with the freedom of the city. But Pharnabazus, after putting affairs in this new train, departed in all haste to the relief of Chalcedon.

Hermocrates,

Just at this time it was notified to the generals of the Syracusans, that “they are sentenced to exile by the people of Syracuse.” Calling, therefore, all their men together, Hermocrates speaking in the name of the rest, they deplored their wretched fortune in being thus iniquitously doomed to exile in their absence^b, quite con-

^b For ἀπαίτες in the original I read ἀποτίτες, by the advice of Dr. Taylor.

“trary to the laws.” They advised the men
“to adhere to the same spirited behaviour they
“had hitherto shown, and with fidelity and
“bravery to execute all the orders of their
“country.” And then they ordered them “to
“go and elect a set of generals, till the persons
“appointed to take the command should arrive
“from Syracuse.” The whole assembly called
aloud upon them to continue in the command;
and the captains of ships, the land-soldiers, and
the pilots, were loudest in their shouts. They
replied, that “Generals ought not to mutiny
“against the orders of their country. But, in
“case any criminal accusations were laid to their
“charge, it was but justice to expect a true
“account from them, who would be still keep-
“ing in remembrance—how many victories at
“sea you have gained under our direction with-
“out the concurrence of others; how many ships
“you have taken; and how often with the rest
“of the confederates you have been saved from
“defeats; distinguished above all by having the
“post of honour both at land and sea, whilst we
“prudently issued and you gallantly executed
“our orders.” Not one amongst them having
any thing to object, and all persisting in the
former demand, they continued with them till
their successors arrived from Syracuse, Demar-
chus the son of Pidocus, and Myscon the son
of Menecrates, and Potamis the son of Gnosias.
Most of the captains of ships promised them, with
an oath, that on their return to Syracuse they
would endeavour their restoration; and then dis-

BOOK I.

missed them to go where themselves thought proper; loading them all with abundant commendations: but such as were intimately acquainted with Hermocrates, most highly regretted the loss of so vigilant, so humane, and so affable a commander; for it had been his daily custom to invite, both morning and evening, to his own tent, such of the captains of ships and pilots, and land soldiers, as he knew to be men of merit, and to communicate to them whatever he intended either to say or to do, begging them to favour him with their sentiments of things, sometimes without premeditation, and sometimes with a more deliberate answer. By this means Hermocrates was heard with the highest deference in all councils of war; his expression and his matter were ever judged the best. But having afterwards preferred at Lacedæmon an accusation against Tissaphernes, which was supported by the evidence of Astyochus, and had a great air of truth, he went to Pharnabazus, and, before he could ask it, received a subsidy from him, which enabled him to provide himself both with men and ships for his return to Syracuse. But now the successors of the Syracusan commanders were arrived at Miletus, and received the ships and the troops.

About the same time a sedition broke out in Thassus, which ended in the ejection of the party attached to the Lacedæmonians, and of Eteonicus, the Lacedæmonian commandant. Pasippidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was accused, in concert with Tissaphernes, of being the author of such miscarriages, was declared an exile from Sparta; and

Cratesippidas was despatched to take the command of the fleet, which the other had assembled from the confederates; and he received it at Chios.

About this time also, whilst Thrasyllus was at Athens, Agis, making a grand forage from Decelea, marched up to the very walls of Athens. But Thrasyllus, putting himself at the head of the Athenians, and of all persons then residing in the city, drew up in order of battle near the Lyceum, determined to fight in case the enemy approached. Agis, perceiving this, immediately retired, with the loss of a few men in the extremity of his rear, who were killed by the light-armed Athenians. For this piece of conduct, the Athenians became more and more disposed to grant to Thrasyllus the reinforcements he came for; and decreed him, in form, a thousand heavy-armed from the public roll, a hundred horsemen, and fifty ships. But Agis, seeing from Decelea that numerous vessels laden with corn were running into the Piræus, declared it “to be of no avail for his army to
“block up the Athenians so long by land, unless
“some stop could be put to the importation of
“corn by sea; and that it was most advisable to
“send Clearchus, the son of Ramphias, who was
“public host of the Byzantines, to Chalcedon and
“Byzantium.” This being approved, and fifteen ships, though transports rather than ships of war, being manned out by the Megareans and the rest of the confederates, Clearchus departed. Three, indeed, of these his ships are destroyed in the Hellespont by nine ships of the Athenians, sta-

Proceedings of
Agis.

BOOK I.



tioned there to awe the enemy's navigation: the rest of them fled to Sestus; and from thence got safe to Byzantium.

And now the year ended, in which the Carthaginians, commanded by Hannibal, having invaded Sicily with an army of a hundred thousand men, take, in three months' time, two Grecian cities, Selinus and Himera.

Year of the
Peloponnesian
war 23. Before
Christ 409.

Proceedings of
Thrasylus.

The year after (when the ninety-third Olympiad was solemnized, in which Evagoras, the Elean, conquered in the chariot-race, and Eubotas, the Cyrenean, in the foot-race, Euarchippides presiding in the college of Ephori at Sparta, and Euctemon being archon at Athens) the Athenians fortified Thoricus. Now Thrasylus, taking the command of the ships decreed him, and having provided five thousand seamen with proper arms to act as targeteers, in the beginning of summer sailed out to Samos. Having staid there three days, he stood over to Pygela, where he laid the adjacent country waste, and made an assault on the city. But a body of troops, marching out of Miletus to aid the Pygeleans, put to flight the light-armed Athenians, who were dispersed about the country. Yet the targeteers, and two companies of heavy-armed, coming up to the relief of the light-armed, put almost the whole body from Miletus to the sword. They also took about two hundred shields, and erected a trophy. Next day they sailed to Notium; and, after making all needful preparations, marched from thence to Colophon. The Colophonians readily came over to them. The night after, they made an

incursion into Lydia, as the harvest was ripe, where they burnt many villages, and took a vast booty in money and slaves and other articles. But Stages, the Persian, who was now in this province, when the Athenians were straggled from their camp to pick up private plunder, fell in amongst them with a party of horse. He took but one Athenian prisoner, though he killed seven. After this, Thrasyllus led off his army to the sea-coast, as resolved to sail to Ephesus. But Tissaphernes, perceiving his intent, collected together a numerous army, and sent his horsemen round the country to summon every body in to Ephesus to the aid of Diana. It was the seventeenth day after his incursion into Lydia that Thrasyllus arrived before Ephesus. He disembarked his heavy-armed at Coressus; but his horse and targeteers, and land soldiers, and all the rest of his force, at the marsh on the other side of the city; and thus at break of day he approached with two different bodies. The whole force of Ephesus marched out in its defence; the confederates too, whom Tissaphernes had brought up; the Syracusans also, as well from the former ships as from the five others, which happened to be just arrived, under the command of Eucles, the son of Hippo, and Heraclides, the son of Aristogenes, and were accompanied by two ships from Selinus. All these advanced first against the heavy-armed from Coressus; and, after giving them an utter defeat, taking about a hundred of them prisoners, and pursuing them down to the sea, they turned to meet the body from the marsh. Here also the Athenians were

BOOK I.

put to flight, and about three hundred of them were slain. The Ephesians erected a trophy on the marsh, and another at Coressus. But on many of the Syracusans and Selinuntians, who had distinguished their bravery on the late occasions, they conferred the highest marks both of public and private gratitude: a liberty of residing amongst them at pleasure, with exemption from taxes, was granted to them all in general; and to the Selinuntians in particular, since their own city was destroyed, a complete naturalization. The Athenians, after fetching off their dead under truce, sailed away to Notium; and from thence, after interring their dead, they sailed for Lesbos and the Hellespont. But, as they were lying at anchor at Methymne of Lesbos, they had a view of five-and-twenty sail of Syracusans on their course from Ephesus. They immediately gave chase, and took four of them, with all their crews, and pursued the rest into Ephesus. All the prisoners taken on this occasion Thrasyllus sent away to Athens, except Alcibiades, an Athenian, a cousin of, and involved in the same sentence of exile with, Alcibiades, whom he stoned to death. From hence he made the best of his way to Sestus, to join the rest of the fleet.

Of Alcibiades.

From Sestus the whole united force crossed over to Lampsacus. And the winter now came on, in which the Syracusan prisoners, confined in the quarries of the Piræus, having digged themselves a passage through the rock, made their escape by night to Decelea, and some of them to Megara. But at Lampsacus, where Alcibiades was bringing the whole force into regular order, the

former soldiers refused to rank with those who came with Thrasyllus, because themselves had continued hitherto without a defeat, whereas the latter came to them defeated. Here, however, they all of them wintered, and fortified Lampsacus. They also made an expedition against Abydus; and Pharnabazus came to its aid with a numerous body of horse: but, being defeated in battle, he fled. Alcibiades, accompanied with some horse and a hundred and twenty heavy-armed belonging to Menander, went in pursuit of him, till the darkness of the night ensured his safety. But this action reconciled the whole soldiery to one another; and those that came with Thrasyllus were heartily caressed. In the progress of the winter they made some other incursions on the continent of Asia, and laid waste the dominions of the king.

About the same time, the Lacedæmonians, by granting a truce, fetched off such of their helots as had deserted from Malea to Coryphasium.

About the same time also, when all parties were drawn up in order of battle against their enemies the Oeteans, the Achæans betrayed all those who belonged to the new colony of Heraclea in Trachinia, so that seven hundred of them, with Labotas, the Lacedæmonian commandant, were put to the sword.

And thus the year ended, in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of Persia, returned to their obedience.

In the succeeding summer the temple of Minerva, in Phoea, was set on fire by lightning, and entirely consumed.

Year of the Peloponnesian war 24. Before Christ 408.

BOOK I.

But when the winter was over (Pantacles presiding amongst the Ephori, and Antigenes being archon, ^c five-and-twenty years of the war being now completed), the Athenians, with their whole collected force, sailed in the beginning of spring to Proconnesus: and, proceeding from thence against Chalcedon and Byzantium, they encamped themselves near to Chalcedon. But the Chalcedonians, who had notice of the approach of the Athenians, had deposited all their effects with their near neighbours, the Bithynian-Thracians. Alcibiades, taking with him a few of the heavy-armed and the horse, and having ordered his ships to coast it, marched up to the Bithynians, and demanded the effects belonging to the Chalcedonians. In case of a refusal, he declared he would make war upon them: upon which they delivered them up. And now returning to the camp, possessed of his booty, and secure of no future disturbance from the Bithynians, he employed the whole of his troops in throwing up a work of circumvallation round Chalcedon, from sea to sea, and secured as much of the river as he possibly could by a wooden rampart. Upon this, Hippocrates, the Lacedæmonian commandant, led his troops out of the city, as determined to engage. The Athenians formed immediately for battle. And Pharnabazus, with his army and a numerous cavalry, came up to the outside of the works of circumvallation, to be ready with his aid. Hippocrates, therefore, and Thrasyllus, each with their heavy-armed, had a long engagement, till Alci-

^c Marginal reading, Paris edit. 1625. Leunclav.

biades marched in with some more heavy-armed, and the horse. Now Hippocrates was slain, and his troops fled back into the city. And, at the same time, Pharnabazus, who was prevented from joining Hippocrates by the narrowness of the passage between the river and the wall of circumvallation, retreated to his camp at the temple of Hercules, in the district of Chalcedon. After this, Alcibiades went off to Hellespont and the Chersonesus to fetch in contributions; but the rest of the generals made an agreement with Pharnabazus in relation to Chalcedon,—that “Pharnabazus should pay down twenty talents^d to the Athenians, and should convey an Athenian embassy to the king.” They swore to Pharnabazus, and took an oath from him, that “the Chalcedonians should punctually pay their former tribute to the Athenians, with the full arrears, and the Athenians should suspend all hostilities against the Chalcedonians, till their ambassadors were again returned from the king.” Alcibiades was not present when these conditions were sworn, for he was then before Selymbria. But taking that place, he went afterwards against Byzantium, having under him the whole military force of the Chersonesus, and the soldiers from Thrace, and more than three hundred horse. Pharnabazus, insisting that Alcibiades also should swear to the articles, waited at Chalcedon till he returned from Byzantium. But, when returned, he declared he would not swear, unless Pharnabazus would swear

^d Three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds.

BOOK I.

again to him. In consequence of this, he gave his oath, at Chrysopolis, to Metrobates and Arnapes, whom Pharnabazus sent thither to receive it; and Pharnabazus swore again, at Chalcedon, to Euryptolemus and Diotimus; and, beside the public oath, they mutually exchanged the solemn pledges of private regard and friendship. Pharnabazus, therefore, immediately departed, and ordered that the ambassadors, who were to go to the king, should meet him at Cyzicus. Those sent by the Athenians were Dorotheus, Philodices, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, Mantitheus: they were accompanied by Cleostratus and Pyrrholochus, from Argos. An embassy also went from Lacedæmon, Pasippidas and his colleagues; and were accompanied by Hermocrates, now an exile from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus. And Pharnabazus began conducting them to the king.

Siege of Byzantium.

The Athenians were busy in the siege of Byzantium. They had raised a circumvallation round it, and carried their skirmishes and attacks quite up to the wall. Clearchus was the Lacedæmonian commandant in Byzantium. He had with him some persons of the neighbourhood of Sparta, a few of the Spartans, newly enfranchised, some Megareans, commanded by Helixus, general from Megara, and Bœotians, commanded by their general, Cæratadas. But the Athenians, when they were not able to prevail by force, persuaded some of the Byzantines to betray the city. Clearchus, the commandant, never suspecting that any of them could be guilty of such treachery, had made the best dispositions that occurred to his own

judgment; and, leaving the care of the place to Cæratadas and Helixus, crossed over the sea to Pharnabazus. He went to receive from him the pay for his troops; and he designed to collect together all the ships, both such as were left in the Hellespont for guardships by Pasippidas, and such as were stationed at Antandrus, and those under the command of Hegesandridas, who had been posted by Mindarus on the coast of Thrace; to procure farther the building of more; and to draw them all into one grand fleet, in order to annoy the confederates of the Athenians, and oblige them to quit the siege of Byzantium. So soon as Clearchus was sailed, the Byzantines in the plot to betray the city—These were Cydon, and Aristo, and Anaxicrates, and Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus; the latter of whom, when tried for his life at Lacedæmon for betraying this place, pleaded successfully in his own defence, that, “so far from betraying, he had only preserved it. He, who was a Byzantine and not a Lacedæmonian, saw their children and their wives perishing with famine” (for Clearchus had distributed all the provisions in the town to the soldiers of the Lacedæmonians). “For this reason, therefore, he declared, he had given admission to the enemy, and not for the sake of money, or to gratify any rancour against the Lacedæmonians.”—The Byzantines therefore in the plot, when they had made all necessary preparations, opened in the night the Thracian-gates, as they are called, and

^e *Επισαλς*, the marginal reading, edit. Par. 1625.

BOOK I.

let in the troops and Alcibiades. Helixus and Cæratadas, who were quite ignorant of the plot, hastened with all their men to the market-place to make head against them. But, as the enemy were masters of the avenues, and resistance was unavailing, they surrendered themselves, and were sent prisoners to Athens. Yet, as they were landing in the Piræus, Cæratadas slipped into the crowd of people there; and lurking for a time, at length escaped safe to Decelea.

Cyrus.

Year of the
Peloponnesian
war 25. Before
Christ 407.

The account of what had been lately done at Byzantium reached Pharnabazus and the ambassadors at Gordium in Phrygia, where they spent the winter. But, as they were continuing their journey to the king early in the spring, they were met by the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, Bœotius and his colleagues, and by other envoys who were on their return. By these they were assured, that the Lacedæmonians had been gratified by the king in all their demands, and that Cyrus was appointed governor of all the maritime provinces, and was to co-operate with the Lacedæmonians in the war: he also carried with him a letter to all the people of those provinces, sealed with the royal signet, and in these words:—"I send down Cyrus to be *caranus* of all the troops assembled at Castolus." The word *caranus* signifies *commander in chief*. When the Athenian ambassadors heard all this, and afterwards saw Cyrus himself, they were desirous more than ever to go up to the king; if that was denied them, to have a safe conduct back. But Cyrus, who would fain have the people of Athens kept

in ignorance of what had been done, advised Pharnabazus, either to deliver up these ambassadors to him, or by no means to give them their dismissal. Pharnabazus therefore, for the present, detained the ambassadors; one while pretending, that he would conduct them forwards to the king; another while, that he would convey them back; managing so well, that no one could blame him. But when three ^fyears were thus elapsed, he begged leave from Cyrus to dismiss them; alleging the oath he had sworn, to re-conduct them to the sea, since he could not carry them to the king. Upon this they are sent to Ariobarzanes with an order to him to carry them back. He conducted them to Chium in Mysia, and from thence they went by sea to the other station of the Athenians.

Alcibiades, who now had a great desire with a military force to return to Athens, set sail immediately for Samos. Taking twenty ships from that station, he stood over into the Ceramic bay of Caria; and, after collecting there a hundred talents^g, he returned to Samos. Thrasybulus, with thirty ships, was gone to Thrace, where he reduced the other cities that had revolted to the Lacedæmonians; and Thasus too, miserably distressed by war, by seditions, and by famine: and Thrasyllus, with another part of the fleet, was sailed for Athens. Yet, before his arrival, the Athenians had chosen for generals, Alcibiades, though yet in exile, and

Alcibiades
returns to
Athens.

^f The learned Usher in his Annals doubts, and with reason, whether it should not be months.

^g Nineteen thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds.

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Thrasylbulus, who was absent ; and, thirdly, Conon, who was now at Athens. But Alcibiades, taking the money from Samos, sailed with twenty ships to Paros. From thence he stood over to Gytheum, to discover in what progress the thirty vessels were that he heard the Lacedæmonians were fitting out there, and what was the disposition of the Athenians in regard to his returning home. And so soon as he perceived they were in the right disposition, nay had even chosen him general, and his friends privately invited him to make his appearance, he sailed into the Piræus the very day that the city was celebrating the Plynteria, when the image in Minerva's temple was covered with a veil ; which some interpreted to be a very bad omen both to himself and the state, because on this day no Athenian whatever dares to intermeddle in any serious affair. But, on his entering the harbour, the whole people, both from the Piræus and the city, came flocking down to his ships, all full of wonder, and full of desire too to see Alcibiades. Some of them were maintaining, " he was the most excellent citizen that Athens " ever bred ; the only one who, beyond all dispute, " had been banished unjustly ; since he had been " merely circumvented by the cabals of men of " much less weight than himself, of snarling " malicious haranguers, who had no other principle " than that of plundering the state : he, on the " contrary, had always been promoting the public " welfare, so far as his own and the efforts of true " patriots could promote it. And when the accusation was preferred against him for irreligious

“behaviour in regard to the *mysteries*, he had
“declared his readiness to submit to an immediate
“trial; whereas his enemies, who had over-ruled
“so equitable a demand, had, during his absence,
“deprived him of his country. In the mean-time,
“his very necessities had reduced him to a state
“of servility; he had been forced to caress even
“the bitterest of foes, and not a day passed but his
“life was in danger. He could henceforth per-
“form no services to such of his fellow-citizens
“as were most endeared to him, none to his
“relations, none even to the state, though he saw
“how sadly it was conducted, since he was
“cramped by the restrictions of his exile. Such
“a man, they affirmed, could not be suspected of
“designing innovations in the state, or a revolution
“of government. He could ever have obtained,
“from the favour of the people, precedency over
“*those of his own age*, and equality with his *seniors*.
“Nay, his very enemies knew him, even when
“they banished him, to be the same true patriot
“he had always been: and yet they, by forcing
“themselves into power, had destroyed the best
“citizens of Athens; and then, being left alone
“in the administration of affairs, had been coun-
“tenanced by their fellow-citizens, for no other
“reason, than because they had no better men to
“countenance.” In the mean-time others were
averring, that “he was the sole author of all the
“*miseries* they had lately experienced; and was
“still the man, that would precipitate his country
“into all the distresses by which at present it
“was threatened.”

BOOK I.

Alcibiades was now at the shore. He did not, however, quit his ship, since he was afraid of his enemies; but, standing upon the deck, he cast his view around, to see whether his friends were at hand; and spying at length his cousin Eurypotolimus, the son of Peisianax, and his other relations, accompanied by their friends, he then stepped ashore, and marcheth along with them up into the city, having parties placed near him ready to guard him against any violence. He then spoke in his own justification both in the senate and the assembly of the people, maintaining "he had never been guilty of impiety, but had himself been sadly injured." Much was said to this purpose, and nobody presumed to say a word against him, because the people would never have suffered it. Being afterwards declared a *general-plenipotentiary*, as if he was able to raise the state to its former power, he first of all placed himself at the head of the whole military strength of Athens, to guard by land the procession of the *mysteries*, which during the war had gone by sea. After this, he picked out a levy from the public roll, fifteen hundred heavy-armed, a hundred and fifty horsemen, and a hundred ships. And, in the third month after his return to Athens, he set sail on an expedition against Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians. Aristocrates, and Adimantus, the son of Leucorophidas, who were chosen to command the land forces, were sent along with him.

Alcibiades landed his troops at Gaurium, on the coast of Andros, who repulsed the Andrians that

sallied out to stop them, and shut them up within the city. Some few of them, though not many, and what Lacedæmonians were with them, they killed in the engagement. Alcibiades upon this erected a trophy; and, after continuing there a few days, sailed away to Samos; and, having fixed his station there, carried on the war against the enemy.

It was no long time before these last trans-^{Lysander.} actions, that the Lacedæmonians, as the time of the command of Cratesippidas was elapsed, had sent away Lysander to command the fleet. Lysander, after arriving at Rhodes, and taking upon him the command, stood away to Cos and Miletus. He proceeded from thence to Ephesus at the head of seventy sail, where he continued till he was sure that Cyrus was arrived at Sardis. But so soon as Cyrus was there, he went up to him along with the embassy from Lacedæmon. Here they made remonstrances against the past behaviour of Tissaphernes, and begged of Cyrus that with his utmost alacrity he would attend to the war. Cyrus answered, that "his father had expressly enjoined him to do so; and, for his own part, it was a point he had entirely at heart: he had brought down with him five hundred talents^a in specie; and, if that was insufficient, he would spend his own private money, which his father had given him; and, if that should fail, he would turn into coin the very throne on which he was sitting," which was all silver and gold. This they received

^a Ninety-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds.

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with high applause; but begged him “to raise the pay of their seamen to an Attic drachma¹”; insisting upon it, that “if the pay was thus advanced, the seamen of the Athenians would desert their ships, and himself, on the whole, would be a considerable saver.” He replied, that “they talked in a rational manner; but, for his own part, it was not in his power to act otherwise than his father had enjoined him: besides, it was expressly stipulated by treaty, that he was to pay only thirty minæ^{*} a month to each ship, the number employed to be wholly at the option of the Lacedæmonians.” Lysander said no more at present. But, after supper, when Cyrus drank to him, and desired to know “in what instance he could oblige him most?” he replied, “if you give each seaman an obole a day over and above their present pay.” From this time their pay was advanced from three to four oboles a day¹. Cyrus also paid off the arrears, and advanced a month’s pay beforehand, which gave fresh alacrity and spirit to all the men. But the Athenians, when they had news of this, were sadly dejected: however, they despatched ambassadors to Cyrus under the safe conduct of Tissaphernes. He, indeed, refused to grant them audience, though Tissaphernes earnestly entreated for them, representing that “all he had hitherto done was in pure compliance with the advice

¹ Sevenpence three farthings.

^{*} Ninety-six pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence.

¹ See Smith’s Thucydides, Vol. II. p. 416.

“ of Alcibiades, studying only that no party of
 “ the Grecians should grow too strong, but that
 “ all might be kept in weakness through their
 “ own embroilments.”

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So soon as all the naval points were settled, Lysander laid all the ships, to the number of ninety, on the ground at Ephesus, and minded no other business than cleaning and refitting them for service. But Alcibiades had received intelligence, that Thrasybulus was come from the Hellespont to fortify Phoea. He therefore crossed over to him, leaving Antiochus, his own pilot, in the command of the fleet, with an order not to put to sea against the ships of Lysander. And yet Antiochus, with his own ship, and one more from Notium, ventured even to enter the harbour of Ephesus, and to sail under the very heads of the ships of Lysander. Lysander got a few of his vessels immediately on float, and gave him chase. But, as the Athenians came out with a greater number of ships to the aid of Antiochus, he then collected all his own, and bore down upon the enemy. And then the Athenians, getting into the water all their ships at Notium, went out to meet him, each ship as fast as she could clear. An engagement immediately ensued; the enemy fought in the regular line; the Athenians with their ships irregularly dispersed, till at length they fled with the loss of fifteen ships. The greatest part of the men escaped, but some of them were taken prisoners. Lysander, after carrying off the ships in tow, and erecting a trophy

Fight of Notium.

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at Notium, sailed back to Ephesus; and the Athenians to Samos.

But after this, Alcibiades, being returned to Samos, stood over with the whole fleet to the harbour of Ephesus, and formed into line of battle before the mouth of the harbour, to defy the enemy. Yet, when Lysander would not come out against him, because inferior in number by many ships, he stood back to Samos. And a little while after the Lacedæmonians take Delphinium and Eion.

Alcibiades a second time exiled.

When the news of the late engagement at sea was brought to Athens, the Athenians conceived high indignation against Alcibiades, ascribing the loss of their ships entirely to his negligent and wild behaviour. They nominated ten others to be generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Herasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, Aristogenes. Alcibiades, therefore, whose credit also was very low in the fleet, taking a single vessel, sailed away to the Chersonesus, to a fortress of his own.

And now Conon, pursuant to the decrees of the state, sailed from Andros with the twenty ships he had there, in order to take the command at Samos. But, to replace Conon at Andros, they sent away Phanosthenes with four ships from Athens. In his passage he fell in with two ships belonging to Thurium, and took both of them, with their crews. The Athenians put all these prisoners into close confinement, but were moved with compassion for Dorieus the commander of

them, who in reality was a Rhodian, but had long since been exiled both from Athens and Rhodes, and for fear of the Athenians, who had sentenced both himself and all his kindred to death, had got himself naturalized amongst the Thurians: they therefore gave him his liberty without a ransom.

When Conon was arrived at Samos, and had received the command of the fleet, which was sadly dispirited, instead of the former number of ships, which amounted to an hundred, he completely manned out seventy; and with these putting out to sea, accompanied by the other commanders, he landed at many different places on the enemy's coast, and plundered the country. And the year ended, in which the Carthaginians, having invaded Sicily with a hundred and twenty ships, and a land-force of an hundred and twenty thousand men, reduced Agrigentum by famine, after being defeated in battle, and bestowing seven months on the siege.

But in the following year, in which the moon was eclipsed in the evening, and the old temple of Minerva was burnt down at Athens (Pity's presiding among the Ephori, and Callias being archon at Athens), when the time of Lysander's command and six^m and twenty years of the war were elapsed, the Lacedæmonians sent Callicratidas to command the fleet. When Lysander delivered him the ships, he told Callicratidas, that "master of the sea and conqueror in a naval engagement, he resigned them to him." Upon this the latter

Year of the Peloponnesian war 26. Before Christ 406.

Callicratidas.

^m Marginal reading, Paris ed. 1625. Leunclav.

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advised him “to set sail from Ephesus, and keep-
 “ing Samos on the left, where the Athenian
 “fleet was lying, afterwards to deliver up the
 “ships at Miletus, and then he would own him
 “to be master of the sea.” But Lysander re-
 plying, that “he ought not to interfere in another
 “person’s command,” Callicratidas, beside the
 ships he received from Lysander, manned out fifty
 more from Chios and Rhodes, and other places in
 the confederacy. And having collected them all
 together, to the number of an hundred and forty,
 he made the needful preparations for meeting the
 enemy. But, finding that all his measures were
 seditiously opposed by the friends of Lysander,
 who not only obeyed his orders with an open re-
 luctance, but were clamouring also in all the cities
 against the most impolitic conduct of the Lace-
 dæmonians, in perpetually changing their ad-
 mirals, sending out persons not qualified for the
 office, or who had a very slender notion of naval
 affairs, and knew not how to manage the tempers
 of mankind; intimating farther, the great danger
 they run of suffering severely for giving the com-
 mand to men unexperienced at sea, and unknown
 to their friends in these parts—for these reasons,
 Callicratidas, having called together the Lacedæ-
 monians now on board the fleet, expressed himself
 thus:

Speech of Cal-
 licratidas.

“I should have been well contented to have
 “stayed at Sparta; nor, if Lysander or any other
 “person hath a mind to be thought a better sea-
 “man than myself, have I any thing to object.
 “But, since I am commissioned by the state to

“command the fleet, I am bound in duty to
 “execute their orders to the utmost of my power.
 “You therefore I adjure, as I would always be-
 “have with honour, and as the state expects us
 “to do our duty (and you know your duty as
 “well as I can tell it you), to give me your
 “opinions without any reserve, whether it be
 “more expedient I should continue here, or re-
 “turn immediately to Sparta to report” there the
 “posture of your affairs.”

No person presumed to give his opinion other-
 wise, than that “he ought to obey the state, and
 “execute their orders:” he, therefore, made a
 journey to Cyrus, and demanded pay for the sea-
 men. Cyrus ordered him to wait two days^a.
 But Callicratidas, chagrined at this delay, and
 vexed at frequently attending at his door, could
 not forbear deploring the lamentable lot of the
 Grecians in being obliged to cajole Barbarians for
 money; affirming, that “if he ever returned to
 “Sparta, he would exert his endeavours to bring
 “about a reconciliation between the Athenians
 “and Lacedæmonians;”—and then he departed
 to Miletus. From thence he sent away some

^a Επεμνα, marg. read. Paris edit. 1625. Leunclav.

• The first time he went, he desired Cyrus might be informed
 that “Admiral Callicratidas was there, and desired to speak with
 “him.” But the person waiting at the door answering, “Cyrus
 “is not at leisure at present, for he is drinking;” Callicratidas,
 with the greatest simplicity, replied—“That signifies nothing at
 “all; I can easily stand and wait here till he has finished his
 “draught.” Upon which the Barbarians, who thought him quite
 a rustic, laughing heartily at him, he went away. Plutarch’s Life
 of Lysander.

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ships to Sparta for a supply of money; and, having called an assembly of the Milesians, he addressed them thus:

Another.

“It is my indispensable duty, Milesians, to obey the orders of my country. And you I expect to signalize yourselves in a cheerful prosecution of the war, as you live in the very midst of the Barbarians, and have already suffered greatly by them. It is therefore incumbent upon you to set an example to the rest of the confederates, in devising the most expeditious and most effectual means to hurt the enemy, till the persons return from Sparta whom I have sent thither to fetch us money. For Lysander, at his departure, sent back all the money in his hands to Cyrus, as if it was an useless article to us; and Cyrus, when I addressed myself to him, was for ever studying excuses to avoid a conference; and, for my part, I could not prevail with myself to dance attendance at his doors. But I pledge my faith to you, that I will make it my study to be grateful to you for all the good services you may do us, during this interval of our waiting for a supply from Sparta. And, if it please the gods, we will convince these Barbarians, that, without fawning upon them, we are able to chastise our enemies.”

When Callicratidas had ended, many persons rose up, and most remarkably those who were accused of crossing his measures. They were frightened, and therefore told him the means of raising a supply, and promised to contribute from their own private purses. When he had thus

gotten money, and had also levied five drachmas for each of his seamen at Chios, he sailed against Methymne in Lesbos, which belonged to the enemy. But the Methymneans refusing to come over, as the Athenians had a garrison in the place, and the Atticizing party had all the power in their hands, he assaults and takes the city by storm. The soldiers instantly made booty of all the money in the place, but Callicratidas gathered all the slaves together in the market-place. The confederates called out upon him to put even the citizens of Methymne up to sale: but he answered, that "whilst he was in command, he would exert his utmost endeavours that no Grecian what-ever should be made a slave." The day after he set all the freemen and the ^PAthenian garrison at liberty, but the slaves were sold at public sale. He also sent word to Conon, that "he would soon stop him from *whoring the sea*."

But, early one morning, perceiving Conon out at sea, he immediately gave chase, to intercept his passage to Samos, that he might not escape thither. Conon, however, made the best of his way with ships that went at a great rate, because he had picked the best rowers out of many crews to make up a few, and flies to Mitylene of Lesbos, accompanied by two of the ten commanders, Leon and Herasinides. Callicratidas, pursuing with a hundred and seventy ships, stood into the harbour along with him. And Conon, now shut up by the enemy, who were got quite round him, was

^P Τὸς τε, margin. reading, ed. Par. 1625. Leunclav.

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obliged to engage in the harbour, and lost thirty ships, but their crews escaped to land, and the forty remaining ships of his fleet he drew ashore under the walls of Mitylene. But Callicratidas, having moored his ships in the harbour, besieged the place. He was entirely master of the road; and, having sent a summons to the Methymneans to march up with their whole military force, he also fetched over the troops from Chios. Now, too, he received the money from Cyrus.

Conon blocked
up in Mitylene.

But Conon, now that Mitylene was invested both by land and sea, and all importation of provisions was effectually cut off, and great numbers of people were crowded into the city, and the Athenians sent him no aid, because utterly ignorant of his situation, drew two of his best sailers into the water before it was day, and completely manned them with the best rowers he could pick out from the fleet. He then made the soldiers go down below decks, and stowed the materials of defence. During the whole day they were at work on board: and in the evening, so soon as it was dark, he made them all go again on shore, that the enemy might gain no suspicion of his design. But, on the fifth day, having gotten a moderate stock of provision on board, exactly at noon, when the enemy, who blocked him up, were drowsy with heat, and some were taking their repose, they expeditiously stood out of the harbour. One of the ships made the best of its way to Hellespont, but the other stretched out to sea. The enemy, who blocked him up, made haste to prevent their escape, each ship as fast as

they could clear, by cutting away the cables and anchors, alarming the crews, calling the men on board, who had been taking their repasts on shore, and were now flocking down to the ships in a violent hurry. At length, having gotten on board their vessels, they gave chase to the ship that stretched out to sea, and at sun-set came up with her. And, after a struggle, making themselves masters of her, they took her in tow, and brought her back with all her crew on board to the naval station. But the ship, that took her course towards the Hellespont, completed her escape, and carried the news of the siege to Athens.

Diomedon, who went to the aid of Canon thus besieged, came to an anchor with twelve ships in the road of Mitylene. But Callicratidas, having suddenly borne down upon him, seized ten of his ships at once, whilst Diomedon fled away with his own and with another vessel.

The Athenians, having received advice of all that had happened, and of the siege, immediately decreed an aid, to consist of a hundred and ten ships, compelling all of an age to bear arms to go on board, as well slaves as freemen. And, having manned out the hundred and ten ships in the space of thirty days, they put to sea: nay, even many of those persons who belonged to the cavalry of the state, went on board this fleet. They first touched at Samos, and from thence took ten sail of Samians. They collected also above thirty ships more from the rest of the confederates, obliging men of all conditions to go on board. All vessels too, they met at sea, were

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embargoed, so that they amounted, at last, to more than an hundred and fifty sail. Callicratidas having received intelligence that this aid was come to Samos, left fifty ships under the command of Eteonicus, to continue the siege ; but, putting to sea himself with an hundred and twenty, he took his evening repast at Cape Malea in Lesbos, over against Mitylene. This very evening the Athenians were taking their repast at Arginusæ, which is over-against the isle of Lesbos. But, in the night time, perceiving fires, and some persons bringing him intelligence that “they are the Athenians,” he set sail at dead of night, with a design to fall suddenly amongst them. The great quantity of rain that fell in the night, accompanied with thunder, prevented him from going across. But, at break of day, when the tempest was ceased, he sailed over to Arginusæ, where, upon the left, the Athenians were drawn out at sea in line of battle in the following disposition :

Battle of Arginusæ.

Aristocrates, with fifteen ships, was posted on the left ; next him was Diomedon, with fifteen more. Pericles was posted behind Aristocrates, and Herasinides behind Diomedon. Next to Diomedon were the Samians, with ten ships drawn up in line a-head : a Samian, by name Hippeus, had the command of the Samians. Next them were ten ships of private captains, these also in the line a-head ; and, after them, three ships of the commanders in chief, and the rest of the confederates. Protomachus, with fifteen ships, commanded the right ; next him was Thrasyllus, with fifteen more. Lysias, with an equal number of

ships, was posted behind Protomachus; and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. They had made this disposition to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line; for their ships sailed worse than those of the enemy.

But all the ships of the Lacedæmonians were drawn up in a single line, with a view of being ready, as they were better sailors, to break through and tack about again upon the enemy; and Callicratidas commanded in their right wing. Yet Hermon the Megarean, who was steersman to Callicratidas, told him now, "it was most advisable for him to sheer off in time, since the ships of the Athenians were far superior in number to his own." Callicratidas made him this reply—"Sparta will not be worse inhabited when I am dead, but it would be infamous in me to flee."

And now the fleets engaged in a fight of long continuance. At first, all the ships kept close together, yet afterwards were separately engaged. But so soon as Callicratidas was tumbled into the sea by the shock of his ship when she struck on an enemy; and was never seen any more, and Protomachus, with those posted with him on the right, had defeated the enemy's left; then began the flight of the Peloponnesians to Chios, though most of them fled to Phocæa: and the Athenians sailed back again to Arginusæ. Five-and-twenty ships of the Athenians were lost in this action, with their crews, some few men excepted, who swam ashore. But, on the Peloponnesian side, nine ships belonging to Lacedæmon were lost, though the whole number of them was but ten, and

Callicratidas
is drowned.

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upwards of sixty more belonging to the rest of the confederates.

It was now judged expedient by the Athenian commanders to order Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who commanded ships, and some other officers, with seven-and-forty of the ships, to sail round to the wrecks and fetch off the men; and to proceed with the rest to Mitylene against the fleet commanded by Eteonicus. But, in these designs, they were prevented by a gale of wind, which grew to be a violent tempest. Upon which they erected a trophy, and passed the night at Arginusæ.

Conon relieved.

In the mean-time, a fly-boat had carried Eteonicus the news of the late battle at sea. But he sent the boat out again with an order to those on board, to move silently off without saying a syllable to any person whatever, and soon after to return again to the naval station crowned with garlands, and shouting aloud, that "Callicratidas had gained a victory at sea," and that "the whole Athenian fleet was destroyed." They punctually observed his instructions: and, when they returned again, Eteonicus offered up a sacrifice for the good tidings they brought. He then issued an order to the soldiers to take their evening repast, and to the suttlers quietly to carry all their effects on board, and sail away in the ships with all expedition to Chios, for the wind favoured the passage; whilst he himself, after setting his camp on fire, drew off the land army to Methymne. And now Conon, having gotten his ships afloat, as the enemy was gone, and the

wind was considerably abated, went out to sea, and met the Athenians, who were under sail from Arginusæ. He told them what Eteonicus had done; upon which the Athenians put into Mitylene. From thence they proceeded to Chios; but, being unable to do any thing there against the enemy, they stood away for Samos.

But at Athens the people turned out all the commanders excepting Conon, to whom they assigned, for his colleagues, Adimantus and Philocles. However, of those who commanded in the late engagement, Protomachus and Aristogenes returned not to Athens, but six of them came home, namely, Pericles and Diomedon, and Lysias and Aristocrates, and Thrasyllus and Herasinides. Archedemus, who, at this time, was the greatest demagogue in Athens, and had the management of all affairs relating to Decelea, laying a fine¹ upon Herasinides, preferred an accusation against him in public court, importing, that "he had embezzled some money from Hellespont belonging to the state," and charged him farther with misdemeanors during his command. It was adjudged by the court that "Herasinides be committed to prison." After this, the commanders made their report in full senate about the late engagement at sea, and the violence of the storm. But Timocrates having moved, that "the rest of the commanders, as well as Herasinides, should be imprisoned in order to be tried by the people of Athens," the senate

Illegal and unjust proceedings at Athens.

¹ I read ἐπιβόλην for ἐπιβουλήν, on the authority of Dr. Taylor.

BOOK I.

ordered their commitment. In the next place, a general assembly of the people was holden, in which several persons preferred accusations against the commanders, though Theramenes distinguished himself most on this occasion. He affirmed "they ought to be brought to a trial for not fetching off the men from the wrecks." He produced their own letter, sent by them to the senate and people, as full evidence, that "no necessary avocation had prevented their doing it, since they alleged no other excuse but the storm." Each of the commanders was then permitted to make a short apology for himself; the course of law did not yet allow them to make a formal defence. They made a bare recital of facts, that "they had stood out to sea in quest of the enemy; had given an order to proper officers amongst the captains of the ships; nay, to such as had formerly commanded fleets; to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and some others of equal rank, to fetch off the men from the wrecks. If any, therefore, were accountable for non-performance of this point, it certainly ought to be charged upon them alone who received the order to perform it. And yet (they continued), the accusation preferred against ourselves shall not make us deviate from truth, by assigning any other reason for their not having done it, than the violence of the storm." They then called upon the pilots, and many other persons who were on board the ships, to give their evidence in confirmation of the truth. By such pleas they mollified the people, many of whom

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

immediately rose up, and offered to be security for their future appearance. It was resolved, however, “to adjourn the affair to another assembly” (for it was now so late in the evening, that they could not distinguish the majority of hands), “the senate, in the mean-time, to draw up a resolution to be reported to the people, in what manner they should be tried.”

The Apaturian festival now came on, in which it is the custom for fathers of families and near relations to entertain one another. Theramenes, therefore, and his party, employed the festival in dressing up a number of persons in mourning garments, having first shaven them clean to the skin, who were to present themselves to the assembly of the people for the relations of such as had perished on the wrecks. They also prevailed upon Callixenus to accuse the commanders in form before the senate. The general assembly was afterwards holden, when the senate reported their resolution by the mouth of Callixenus, and in the very words in which he had moved to have it drawn up :

“Whereas, in the last assembly of the people,
“not only the accusers of the commanders, but
“also the commanders themselves, were heard in
“their own justification, let the people of Athens
“proceed to give their votes by tribes. Let two
“urns be placed for every tribe. In each tribe
“let the herald proclaim :—‘As many as are of
“opinion, that the commanders have misbehaved
“in not fetching off from the wrecks the men
“who had earned them a victory, let such cast

their ballots into this urn; as many as are of the contrary opinion, into that.' And, if a majority declare them guilty, let them be sentenced to death, let them be delivered over to the public executioners, let their estates be confiscated, reserving a tenth part for the goddess."

And now a person stood forth in the assembly, who affirmed, that "he had swam ashore upon a barrel of flour; that the poor wretches who were lost had solemnly conjured him, if he escaped with life, to tell the people of Athens, that their commanders would not save the lives of those very men who had fought with the utmost bravery for their country." A clamour was already begun against Callixenus, for proposing a method of procedure that was manifestly against due course of law. Euryptolemus, the son of Peisionax, and some other leading men amongst the people, declared themselves of this opinion. But the multitude roared aloud, that Athens was undone, if the people were restrained from proceeding at their own discretion." Upon this a motion was made by Lyciscus, that "whoever interrupted the free votes of the assembly of the people, should be involved in the same sentence that was given against the commanders." This motion was approved by a loud tumultuous shout from the multitude, and the others are forced to withdraw their opposition: but now again, the presidents refusing to put a question which was contrary to law, Callixenus stood up again, and accused them for their

refusal. The people demanded aloud, that “such
“ of them as refused should be called to account.”
This terrified the presidents, who immediately declared they were ready to comply, all but Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, who still insisted that “he would not do an act which was not according to law.” But after this Euryptolemus rose up, and spoke thus in favour of the commanders :

“ I rise up, my fellow-citizens of Athens, partly
“ with a design to blame my near and dear relation
“ Pericles, and my friend Diomedon ; and
“ partly to offer some plea in their behalf ; and
“ farther, to give you such advice, as in my
“ opinion will best promote the welfare of the
“ Athenian state. I therefore blame my relation
“ and my friend for persuading their colleagues in
“ the command to insert in the letter they were
“ desirous to send to the senate and you, that
“ they had issued an order to Theramenes and
“ Thrasybulus to repair with forty-seven ships to
“ the wrecks and fetch off the men, which order
“ was never put in execution. In consequence of
“ this, they are now involved in the guilt of a
“ crime which others separately incurred ; and, in
“ requital for all their humanity, are now, by the
“ treachery of those very persons and a party
“ here, brought into imminent danger of their
“ lives. No danger neither, if you will but comply with my advice, and obey the dictates of
“ piety and justice. And by this means you will
“ best be enabled to discover all the truth, and
“ preserve yourselves from a subsequent fit of
“ remorse, when in process of time convinced

Speech of Euryptolemus.

BOOK I.



“ that you have enormously offended both against
“ Heaven and your ownselves.

“ Let me therefore recommend such a conduct
“ to you, as will guard you from all deception
“ either by myself or by any other person, as will
“ clearly discover the guilty, how far they all, and
“ in what degree each person amongst them is
“ guilty, and will enable you to assign the proper
“ measure of punishment to each. Indulge them,
“ therefore, with only one day, if more time must
“ not be granted, to make their defence; and pay
“ an higher deference to your own than to the
“ judgment of other men. And all of you know,
“ my fellow-citizens of Athens, that the law of
“ Canonus is still in force, which enacts that
“ —‘ if any person hath aggrieved the people of
“ Athens, he shall be imprisoned and brought to
“ a trial before the people; and, in case he be con-
“ victed, shall be put to death and thrown into
“ the pit, his goods and chattels to be forfeited to
“ the state, reserving the tenth part for the god-
“ dess.’—By this law I exhort you to try the
“ commanders; and by Heaven to begin, if you
“ think proper, with Pericles, my own relation.
“ It would be baseness indeed in myself to place
“ an higher value upon him than upon my
“ country.

“ But if you rather choose it, try them by the
“ other law against persons accused of sacrilege
“ and treason, which enacts, that—‘ if any man
“ betrays the city or robs the temples, he shall be
“ tried in the courts of judicature; and, if ad-
“ judged to die, shall not be buried in Attica,

“ his goods and chattels to be forfeited to the
“ state.’

“ Make use of either of these laws, my fellow-
“ citizens. Let a separate day be assigned for the
“ trial of each; that day to be divided into ^r three
“ parts; in the first of which you ought to as-
“ semble and give your ballots whether or no
“ they ought to be put upon their trial; in the
“ second, the accusation should be opened against
“ them; in the third, they should be heard in
“ their own defence. And if this method be
“ observed, the guilty will receive the severest
“ punishment, and the innocent be saved by you,
“ Athenians, and not be put to death by an ini-
“ quitous condemnation. You then, without of-
“ fending Heaven, without violating your oaths,
“ will judge them according to law; and will not
“ make war in combination with the Lacedæ-
“ monians, by putting to death, without a trial,
“ in express violation of the laws, the very men
“ who have taken seventy of their ships, and
“ gained a notable victory over them.

“ But of what are you afraid, that you are
“ in such vehement haste to pass a sentence? Are
“ you afraid of losing your right to put to death
“ or to save whom you please, in case you try
“ men in a regular conformity with, and not in
“ open violation of, the law? Yes: such was the
“ motive of Callixenus, when he persuaded the
“ senate to subject them all to one summary vote

^r Δινητημένων της ημερας τριων μερων. Leunclavius, Paris edit.
marginal reading, p. 450, and the Appendix.

BOOK I.

“ from the people. Yet this way, perhaps, you
“ may put an innocent man to death: and then,
“ in a subsequent fit of remorse, you may bitterly
“ reflect what a dreadful and unjustifiable act you
“ have committed: and more bitterly still, if you
“ iniquitously put to death a number of them.
“ Horrible, indeed, would the procedure be, if
“ you, the very persons that indulged Aristarchus,
“ who formerly overturned the popular govern-
“ ment, and afterwards betrayed Oenoë to our
“ enemies the Thebans, with a day of his own
“ appointment to make his defence, and observed
“ every form of law in regard to him, should
“ deny every indulgence and every right to com-
“ manders who in all respects have answered your
“ expectations, and have gained a victory over
“ your enemies! Forbid it, Heaven, that Athe-
“ nians should behave in such a manner! Keep
“ your attention fixed on the laws, on laws which
“ are entirely your own, on laws by whose imme-
“ diate influence you have been so highly exalted;
“ and let it never enter your hearts to deviate
“ from them. Bring back your thoughts to the
“ sole consideration of the matters of fact, in
“ which your commanders seem to have incur-
“ red your displeasure.

“ For, after they had obtained the victory at
“ sea, and were returned to their station, it was
“ Diomedon's advice, that the whole fleet should
“ proceed in regular line to fetch off the disabled
“ ships, and the crews on board them. Herasi-
“ nides was for repairing immediately, with the
“ whole fleet, against the enemy at Mitylene.

“ Thrasyllus declared for the execution of both
“ these points, by leaving part of the fleet behind,
“ and going with the rest against the enemy.
“ His advice received the general approbation.
“ Each commander was to leave three ships of his
“ own division;—the number of the commanders
“ was eight;—beside the ten ships belonging to
“ private captains, and the ten belonging to the
“ Samians, and the three ships belonging to the
“ commanders in chief. All these together are
“ forty-seven; four for the care of every disabled
“ vessel, which were twelve in all. The officers
“ left behind to command them were Thrasybulus
“ and Theramenes—that very Theramenes, who,
“ in the last assembly, accused these commanders;
“ —and then, with the rest of the fleet, they
“ went out to sea against the enemy.

“ In what article, therefore, hath their conduct
“ been defective or inglorious? If the behaviour
“ hath been faulty in regard to the enemy, those
“ who went out against the enemy ought, by all
“ the rules of justice, to be accountable for it.
“ But such only as were assigned to fetch off the
“ men, and yet did not execute the order of their
“ superiors, should be put on their trial for not
“ fetching them off. Thus much, indeed, I can
“ safely allege, in vindication of Thrasybulus,
“ and Theramenes too, that the storm prevented
“ them from executing that order. The persons,
“ who by good fortune were preserved, are evi-
“ dence that this is true; in which number is one
“ of your own commanders, who escaped with
“ life from one of the wrecks; and whom, though

BOOK I.



“ then he stood in need of all their assistance,
“ they now will have involved in the same sen-
“ tence with those who were to bring it, and yet
“ brought it not.

“ Take care, therefore, my fellow-citizens of
“ Athens, that, successful and victorious as you
“ are, you act not the part of men who are on the
“ brink of despair and ruin: that, instead of sub-
“ mission to the gods, in points that are subject
“ to their will alone, you condemn not men for
“ treachery, when they were incapable of acting
“ at all, since the violence of the storm entirely
“ prevented the execution of orders. You would
“ behave much more agreeably to justice, if you
“ honoured your victorious commanders with
“ crowns, rather than, in compliance with the
“ instigations of wicked men, to punish them
“ with death.”

Euryptolemus, after this address, proceeded to move, that “ the accused should be separately put
“ on their trials, according to the law of Canonus.”
The proposal of the senate was, that “ one sum-
“ mary vote should be passed upon them all.”
Upon holding up of hands, a majority appeared for the motion of Euryptolemus. But as Menecles entered a protest against the regularity of it, and, of course, the question was put again, it was carried for the proposal of the senate. And after this they condemned to death the eight commanders in the sea-fight of Arginusæ. Six of them, who were now at Athens, were actually put to death. Yet no long time after the Athenians repented of what they had done, and passed a

decree, that “the persons who had beguiled the
 “people in this matter should be impeached for
 “the crime, and procure bail till they could be
 “brought to a trial; Callixenus, in particular, to
 “be one of the number.” Four other persons
 were also impeached, and were kept in safe cus-
 tody by their own bail. But the sedition break-
 ing out afterwards in the city, in which Cleophon
 was killed, they all made their escape before they
 could be brought to a trial. Callixenus, however,
 who afterwards returned to Athens, with those
 who came up from the Piræus into the city, was
 so universally detested, that he starved himself to
 death.

HISTORY

OF

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK II.

Lysander sent out a second Time to command.—He gains a decisive Victory against the Athenians at Ægos-potamos; and, in consequence of it, besieges and takes the city of Athens.—The End of the Peloponnesian War.—History of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, and their Overthrow by Thrasybulus.

Proceedings of
Eteonicus.

THE soldiers, that were at Chios with Eteonicus, subsisted during summer on the fruits of the season and the money they earned by working in the fields. But, when winter came on, and they had no subsistence, and were both naked and barefoot, they ran into cabals, and formed a conspiracy to make seizure of Chios. It was agreed amongst them, that all such as approved of the scheme should carry a reed in their hands, in order to discover to each other a just account of their numbers. Eteonicus, who had gained intelligence of the plot, was highly perplexed in what manner

to disconcert it, because of the great number of those who carried reeds. He judged it too hazardous to attack them openly, lest they should run to arms; and then, seizing the city and turning enemies, might ruin all affairs at Chios in case they prevailed. On the other side, he thought it would be dreadful to destroy so many persons who were old confederates, which might open the mouths of the rest of Greece against them, and give the soldiery an aversion from the service. Taking, therefore, along with him fifteen persons armed with daggers, he walked about the city; and, lighting on a fellow, who had a disorder in his eyes and was just come from the surgeon's, with a reed in his hand, he killed him on the spot. Hereupon a tumult beginning to rise, and some demanding "for what reason that man was killed?"—Eteonicus orders them to be answered aloud—"because he carried a reed." This answer was no sooner given than all such as carried reeds threw them instantly away; every one within hearing was afraid lest he should have been seen with one of them in his hand. Eteonicus, after this, having assembled the Chians, issued out an order to them to advance a proper sum of money, that the seamen might receive their pay, and all kind of mutiny be prevented. The Chians advanced the money; and then Eteonicus ordered all the men on board. Repairing afterwards on board every vessel in its turn, he encouraged and he advised them much, as if he was entirely ignorant of the late conspiracy, and then distributed a month's pay to each.

BOOK II.



The Chians and the rest of the confederates, assembling afterwards at Ephesus, determined to send ambassadors to Lacedæmon concerning the present state of their affairs, who were to make their report and then desire, that "Lysander" might be sent to command the fleet," who had highly recommended himself to the alliance during his former command, and by gaining the sea-fight at Notium. The ambassadors were, accordingly, despatched away, and with them some envoys from Cyrus, who were to second them. But the Lacedæmonians complied only so far as to send Lysander to be the lieutenant, for they appointed Aracus to be admiral-in-chief: for their law doth not permit the same person to be twice in the chief command. The fleet, therefore, was resigned to Lysander, when twenty-seven years of the war were now completed.

Cyrus.

In this year Cyrus put to death Autobæses and Mitæus, the sons of a sister of Darius, and daughter of Artaxerxes, who was father of Darius, because, at meeting him, they had not drawn their hands within the sleeve, a compliment paid to the king alone. The sleeve reacheth down below the hand, and the person who draws his hand within it is incapable of doing any act at all. Hieramenes and his wife represented to Darius, that he could not, in justice, connive at such outrageous behaviour. Darius, therefore, pretending himself much out of order, sends couriers to Cyrus to summon him to court.

Year of the
Peloponnesian
war 27. Before
Christ 405.

In the following summer (when Archytas presided in the college of Ephori, and Alexius was

archon at Athens), Lysander, now arrived at Ephesus, sends for Eteonicus, with the ships from Chios, and collected all the rest from their several stations into one grand fleet. He refitted them all for service, and was building others at Antandros. He also made Cyrus a visit, and asked for money. Cyrus told him, that "all his father's money, and a great deal more besides, had already been expended," reciting, particularly, what each admiral-in-chief had received: however, he gave him a supply. Lysander, thus furnished with money, assigned proper commanders to the ships, and paid the seamen their arrears. In the mean-time, the Athenian commanders were making preparations at Samos to go out to sea with the fleet.

Lysander
again in the
command:

At this juncture Cyrus sent again for Lysander, when the messenger was come to him from his father with the news, that "he was much out of order and wanted to see him," being now at Thamneria in Media near the Cadusians, against whom he had marched, because they had revolted. When Lysander was come, he expressly forbade him "to engage the Athenians at sea, unless he had by far the larger number of ships, since both the king and himself were masters of abundance of wealth, and the fleet might be properly enlarged to secure the point." He then showed him an account of all the tributes from the cities which were his own appointments, and gave him what money he could spare. And then, having put him in mind "of the great friendship he bore to the Lacedæmonian state,

BOOK II. “and particularly to Lysander,” he set out on the journey to his father.

Lysander, when Cyrus had thus entrusted him with all his concerns, and was departed in obedience to the summons to visit his sick father, after distributing pay to his fleet, sailed into the Ceramic bay of Caria; where, assaulting a city called Cedrea, that was confederate with the Athenians, he took it the second day by storm, and sold the inhabitants for slaves; these inhabitants were half Barbarians; and from thence he sailed away to Rhodes. The Athenians, having stood out from Samos, were infesting the coasts belonging to the king; they even sailed up to Chios and Ephesus, and were prepared for battle. They associated also, in the command of the fleet, Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. Lysander was now coasting along Ionia, from Rhodes towards the Hellespont, and the track of vessels out of it, and against the cities that had revolted. The Athenians were also at sea, being bound to Chios; for Asia was entirely against them. Lysander from Abydus sailed up to Lampsacus, which was confederate with the Athenians. The Abydenians and others marched their troops thither by land. They were commanded by Thorax the Lacedæmonian; and, assaulting Lampsacus, they take it by storm. The soldiers plundered this city, a rich one, and plentifully stocked with wine and corn and other needful stores: but Lysander dismissed all persons that were free, without a ransom. The Athenians, who closely chased him, were now arrived at Eleus in the Chersonese with

an hundred and eighty ships. Here they had no sooner taken their repast, than news is brought them of what had been done at Lampsacus, when immediately they proceed to Sestos: from whence, after victualling with the utmost despatch, they sailed into Ægos-potamos over-against Lampsacus. The distance between them, across the Hellespont, is about ^a fifteen stadia: and here they took their evening repast. Night came on; but, so soon as it was break of day, Lysander made a signal for his men to eat their meal and repair on board their ships. Having now got things in readiness for an engagement, and made all fast on board for defence, he issued out orders, that no ship should stir out of the line, or go out to sea. The Athenians, when the sun was up, appeared before the harbour in a line abreast, as ready to engage. But, when Lysander would not come out against them, and it grew late in the day, they sailed back again into Ægos-potamos.

Lysander now ordered the nimblest vessels to follow the Athenians. They were to take a view in what manner they behaved so soon as they quitted their ships, and then to return and bring him a report. Nor did he suffer any of his own men to quit their vessels before these ships returned. He did the same thing for four days successively; and the Athenians came over the same number of days against him.

Alcibiades, from his own fortress, had a view of the Athenians in their present station, on the

Alcibiades.

^a One mile and a half.

BOOK II.

open beach, near no city, and obliged to go^b fifteen stadia from their ships to fetch provisions from Sestos; whilst the enemy lay in a harbour, and were supplied with every thing from the adjacent city. He told them, therefore, "they had chosen an improper station;" he advised them "to remove to Sestos, to a harbour, and to a city:—Only station yourselves there," said he, "and you will be able to fight the enemy at your own discretion." But the commanders, and especially Tydeus and Menander, ordered him to be gone—"since they, and not he, were at present in the command of the fleet." Accordingly he went his way^c.

Lysander gains a great victory at Ægos-potamos.

But Lysander, on the fifth day that the Athenians thus came over to offer him battle, ordered those who followed them in their retreat, that, "so soon as they saw them landed again, and straggled about the Chersonese" (which they continued to do more and more every succeeding day, to buy provisions at a great distance, heartily despising Lysander for not coming out against them), "they should immediately return, and, when they were got half way, should hoist a shield up in the air." They punctually obeyed his orders; and Lysander immediately made the signal for standing out to sea with all expedition. Thorax also, with the land forces under his com-

^b One mile and a half.

^c This is the last time any mention is made of Alcibiades, who, soon after, through the instigations of Critias and Lysander, was treacherously put to death by Pharnabazus.

mand, was taken on board to go along with them. Conon no sooner had a view of the enemy, than he made a signal to the ships to be ready for defence with all their might. But, as the seamen were dispersed about, some ships had but two benches of rowers aboard, some only one, and some none at all. Conon's own ship, with about seven more and the Paralus, had their crews on board, and immediately put to sea: but all the rest Lysander took close to the shore. They had, indeed, drawn together most of their men on the land, but they fled away to places of safety. Conon, flying with nine ships, as he found all was over with the Athenians, sailed up to Cape Abarnis near Lampsacus, and carried from thence the great masts belonging to the ships of Lysander. And then, with eight ships, he sailed away for Cyprus to Evagoras, whilst the Paralus went for Athens to notify what had happened. But Lysander brought over the ships and the prisoners and every thing else to Lampsacus. And, besides others of the commanders, he had got, for his prisoners, Philocles and Adimantus. But, the very day he performed these exploits, he sent away Theopompus, the Milesian partisan, to Lacedæmon, to notify what had been done, who performed the journey in three days, and published the victory.

Lysander afterwards called the confederates together, and desired their advice about the prisoners. On this occasion many bitter charges were exhibited against the Athenians;—"what sad transgressors they had formerly been!—

BOOK II.

“ what horrid designs they would have put in
“ execution had they obtained the victory, even
“ to cut off the right hands of all the prisoners
“ they should take! They had thrown overboard
“ and drowned all the men belonging to two
“ ships they had taken, one a Corinthian, and the
“ other an Andrian: and Philocles was the very
“ Athenian commander who had thus destroyed
“ them.”—Much more was said at this meeting,
and a resolution was taken “ to put all the Athe-
“ nians, who were prisoners, to death, except
“ Adimantus,” who, in the council of war, had
singly opposed the proposal to cut off hands:
however, he was charged by some persons with
betraying the fleet to the enemy. Lysander,
therefore, having first put the question to Philocles,
who had thrown the Corinthians and Andrians
overboard—“ What he deserved to suffer, who had
“ set the example of such outrageous behaviour
“ in Greece?”—put him instantly to death. And,
so soon as he had settled affairs at Lampsacus, he
sailed to Byzantium and Chalcedon. They gave
him a reception, having first sent away, under
truce, the Athenian garrisons. The persons,
indeed, who had betrayed Byzantium to Alci-
biades, fled away to Pontus, and afterwards to
Athens, where they were naturalized.

But Lysander sent home all the garrisons be-
longing to that state, and all Athenians whatever
that fell into his hands, to Athens; thither he
permitted them to sail without any molestation,
but no where else. He knew, that the greater
the numbers that were collected together in the

city and the Piræus, the sooner they must want the necessaries of life. And now, leaving Sthenelaus, the Lacedæmonian, to be commandant of Byzantium and Chalcedon, he himself returned to Lampsacus and refitted the fleet.

At Athens, where the Paralus arrived in the night, the calamity was told, and a scream of lamentation ran up from the Piræus, through the long walls, into the city, one person repeating the news to another; insomuch, that no single soul that night could take any rest, not merely for lamenting those who were lost, but much more for reflecting what themselves, in all probability, were soon to suffer—the like, no doubt, as themselves had inflicted upon the Melians, when they had reduced, by siege, that colony of the Lacedæmonians, on the Istians also, and Scioneans, and Toroneans, and Æginetæ, and many other people in Greece. The next day they summoned a general assembly, in which it was resolved to “barricado all their harbours excepting one, “to repair their walls, to fix proper watches, and “prepare the city, in all respects, for a siege.” All hands, accordingly, were immediately at work.

A great consternation at Athens.

Lysander, who now, from the Hellespont, was come to Lesbos with two hundred sail, took in and resettled the cities in that island, and especially Mitylene. He also sent away, to the towns of Thrace, ten ships commanded by Eteonicus, who reduced every thing there into subjection to the Lacedæmonians. But, immediately after the fight at Ægos-potamos, all Greece revolted

BOOK II.



The siege of
Athens.

from the Athenians, excepting Samos. At Samos, the people, having massacred the nobility, held the city for the Athenians.

In the next place, Lysander sent notice to Agis at Decelea, and to Lacedæmon, that "he is sailing up with two hundred ships." The Lacedæmonians immediately took the field with their whole force, as did the rest of the Peloponnesians, except the Argives, upon receiving the order circulated by Pausanias, the other king of Lacedæmon. When they were all assembled, he marched away at their head, and encamped them under the walls of Athens, in the place of exercise called the Academy. But Lysander, when come up to Ægina, collected together all the Æginetæ he could possibly find, and replaced them in their city. He did the same to the Melians, and to the other people, who formerly had been dispossessed. In the next place, having laid Salamis waste, he stationed himself before the Piræus with an hundred and fifty ships, and prevented all kind of embarkations from entering that harbour.

The Athenians, thus besieged both by land and sea, and destitute of ships, of allies, and of provisions, were miserably perplexed how to act. They judged they had nothing to expect but suffering what, without provocation, themselves had made others suffer, when they wantonly tyrannized over petty states, and for no other reason in the world, than because they were confederate with the state of Lacedæmon. From

these considerations, after restoring to their full rights and privileges such as were under the sentence of infamy, they persevered in holding out; and, though numbers began to die for want of meat, they would not bear any mention of treating. But, when their corn began totally to fail, they sent ambassadors to Agis, offering “to become confederates with the Lacedæmonians, reserving to themselves the long walls and the Piræus,” and, on these terms, would accept an accommodation. Yet Agis ordered them “to repair to Lacedæmon, since he himself had no power to treat.” When the ambassadors had reported this answer to the Athenians, they ordered them to go to Lacedæmon. But, when they were arrived at Sellasia on the frontier of Laconia, and the Ephori were informed “they were to offer no other proposals than had been made to Agis,” they sent them an order “to return to Athens, and, when they heartily desired peace, to come again with more favourable instructions.” When, therefore, the ambassadors returned to Athens, and had reported these things to the state, an universal despondency ensued: “Slavery, they judged, must unavoidably be their portion; and, whilst they were sending another embassy, numbers would die of famine.” No one durst yet presume to advise the demolition of the walls; since Archestratus, who had only hinted in the senate, that “it would be best for them to make peace on such terms as the Lacedæmonians proposed,” had immediately been thrown into prison. But the Lacedæmonians proposed, that

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“ each of the long walls should be demolished to
“ the length of “ten stadia;” and a decree had
been passed that “such a proposal should never
“ be debated.”

In this sad situation, Theramenes offered to the general assembly, that “if they would let him go
“ to Lysander, he could inform them at his return,
“ whether the Lacedæmonians insisted on the de-
“ molition of the walls with a view entirely to
“ enslave them, or by way of security only for
“ their future behaviour.” He was ordered to go; and he staid more than three months with Lysander, waiting till a total want of provisions should necessitate the Athenians to agree to any proposal whatever. But, on his return in the fourth month, he reported to the general assembly, that “Lysander had detained him all this time,
“ and now orders him to go to Lacedæmon, since
“ he had no power to settle the points of ac-
“ commodation, which could only be done by the
“ Ephori.” Upon this he was chosen, with nine others, to go ambassador-plenipotentiary to Lacedæmon. Lysander sent Aristotle, an Athenian, but under sentence of exile, in company with other Lacedæmonians, to the Ephori, to assure them that “he had referred Theramenes to them,
“ who alone were empowered to make peace and
“ war.” When, therefore, Theramenes and the other ambassadors were arrived at Sellasia, and were asked—“What instructions they had?”—their answer was—“They had full powers to
“^a About a mile.

“make a peace.” Upon this, the Ephori called them to an audience: and, on their arrival at Sparta, they summoned an assembly, in which the Corinthians and Thebans distinguished themselves above all others, though several joined in their sentiments. They averred that “the Athenians ought to have no peace at all, but should be utterly destroyed.” The Lacedæmonians declared, “they would never enslave a Grecian city that had done such positive service to Greece in the most perilous times.” Accordingly, they granted a peace, on condition “they should demolish the long walls and the Piræus, should deliver up all their ships except twelve, should recall their exiles, should have the same friends and the same foes with the Lacedæmonians, and follow them, at command, either by land or sea.” Theramenes and his colleagues returned to Athens with these conditions of peace. At their entering the city a crowd of people flocked about them, fearing they had been dismissed without any thing done: for their present situation would admit of no delay at all, such numbers were perishing by famine. On the day following, the ambassadors reported the terms on which the Lacedæmonians would grant a peace. Theramenes was their mouth on this occasion, and assured them “they had no resource left, but to obey the Lacedæmonians and demolish the walls.” Some persons spoke against, but a large majority declaring for it, it was resolved—“to accept the peace.”

BOOK II.

Surrender of
Athens.

In pursuance of this, Lysander stood into the Piræus, and the exiles returned into the city. They demolished the walls with much alacrity, music playing all the time, since they judged this to be the first day that Greece was free.

Thus ended the year, in the middle of which Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, made himself tyrant of Syracuse, after the Carthaginians had been defeated in battle by the Syracusans, though the former had first made themselves masters of Agrigentum, which the Sicilians too evacuated for want of provision.

Year before
Christ 404.
End of the
Peloponnesian
war.

[In the year following were celebrated the Olympic games, in which Crocinas the Thessalian gained the prize in the stadium or foot-race, Eudius presiding amongst the Ephori at Sparta, and Pythodorus being archon at Athens, whom the Athenians, because he was appointed during the oligarchy, never name in their list of archons, but style that year the Anarchy.]

An oligarchy
set up at Athens:

The oligarchy was thus set up.—It was decreed by the people, that “thirty persons should be chosen to draw up a body of laws for the future government of the state.” The persons chosen were these—Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chremon, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phædrias, Chærelaus, Anetius, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristotle, Hippomachus, Mnesithides. When these things were done, Lysander sailed

away for Samos; and Agis, marching away the land army from Decelea, disbanded them to their several cities.

About the same time, and when the sun was eclipsed, Lycophron the Pheræan, who was scheming to be king over all Thessaly, defeated in battle the Larisseans and other people of Thessaly, who made head against him, and slew many of them. At the same time also, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, being defeated in battle by the Carthaginians, lost Gela and Camarina. And a little time after, the Leontines, who lived at Syracuse, revolted from Dionysius and the Syracusans, and withdrew to their own city; upon which the cavalry of Syracuse were immediately sent by Dionysius to Catana.

The Samians, invested on all sides by Lysander, treated for the first time about a surrender, when he was just proceeding to a general assault. The capitulation was, that "all the freemen should depart with only the clothes on their backs, and should deliver up every thing beside." Accordingly they departed. Lysander, having delivered over the city, and all within it, to its ancient inhabitants, and appointed ten commanders for the preservation of the place, sent home all the quotas of shipping belonging to the confederates; and, with those belonging to that state, he sailed away to Lacedæmon, bringing with him all the ornaments of the ships he had taken from the enemy, and the ships out of the Piræus, twelve excepted, and the crowns that had been presented personally to himself from the states of Greece,

Surrender of
Samos.

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and four hundred and seventy talents^f of silver, being the surplus of the tributes which Cyrus assigned him for the war, and whatever else he had got in the course of his command. All these articles he delivered in to the Lacedæmonians in the close of this summer, at which time twenty-eight years and a half^g put an end to this war, during which the Ephori of Sparta are reckoned up in the following order. First, Ænesias, in whose time the war began, in the fifteenth year of the truce made for thirty years after the conquest of Eubœa. After him are these—Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Hexarchus, Agesistratus, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Clinomachus, Hilarchus, Leon, Chæridas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaidas, Hysias, Aracus, Evarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Eudicus, in whose time Lysander, having finished the war, as is above related, returned with the fleet to Sparta.

The thirty tyrants.

The thirty were put into commission at Athens, so soon as ever the long walls and those of the Piræus were demolished. They were appointed to draw up a body of laws for the future government of the state, and yet were continually de-

^f Ninety-one thousand sixty-two pounds ten shillings.

^g That is, if reckoned by the complete years of the Ephori at Sparta. But, as the war began in the year of Ænesias, the first year of it ended in the year of Brasidas. Count Brasidas, therefore, first, and the duration of the war will appear to be twenty-seven years and a half, since it ends in the year of Eudicus. This perfectly reconciles Thucydides and Xenophon.

laying to draw up such laws and make them public; but then they filled up the senate and other offices of state by nominations of their own. In the next place, it was their principal care to apprehend and subject to capital punishment all such, as during the democracy had subsisted by the trade of informers, and had been a nuisance to honest and good men. Such persons the senate readily condemned to death; and the whole body of Athenians, who were conscious to themselves that they had never been guilty of such practices, were not at all dissatisfied. But, when they began to cabal together how to erect themselves into an arbitrary council of state, their first step was to send Æschines and Aristotle to Lacedæmon, to persuade Lysander to send them a guard, that they might effectually rid themselves of a malignant party, in order to settle their future polity; and they promised to take the expense upon themselves. Lysander was persuaded, and procured a body of guards to be sent them under the command of Callibius. But, when they had got this guard, they paid all possible court to Callibius, that his commendation might be given to all their measures. By his sending them parties to execute their orders, they now apprehended whatever persons they pleased, no longer bad men and scoundrels, but such as they imagined would never acquiesce in their violent proceedings, would attempt resistance, and had influence enough to raise a large party against them.

Critias and Theramenes, at first, had acted with great unanimity and friendship. But when the

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former, who had been exiled by the people, was impetuous for putting numbers to death, Theramenes began to clash. He maintained it “to be quite iniquitous to put men to death only because they were honoured by the people, and had never done any harm to the worthy and good. For, he added, even I myself, and you too, Critias, have advised and executed many public measures merely for the sake of obliging the people.” But Critias (for he was still well with Theramenes) replied—“It was an inconsistency for men, who had schemed to get the power into their own hands, not to rid themselves of such as were best able to disappoint their scheme. You judge very simply indeed, if, because we are thirty in number, you think we ought to be less vigilant in establishing our power, than a single person would be for his own personal tyranny.” Yet, when numbers had unjustly been put to death, and it was visible that the Athenians began to form associations, and to be alarmed for their future safety, Theramenes again declared, that “unless they strengthened themselves by taking in a number of able assistants, it was impossible the oligarchy could be of long continuance.” Here Critias and the rest of the thirty beginning to be alarmed, and not least of all about Theramenes, lest the Athenians should put themselves under his protection, draw up a list of three thousand persons, who were to be associated with them in the administration. But Theramenes again declared his sentiments, that “it seemed an absurdity to him, for

“men, who had at first proposed to form an
“union only of the best men in the community,
“to draw up a list amounting to three thousand,
“as if that number necessarily implied, that all of
“them were men of honour and virtue, as if it
“was impossible for any one, not in the list, to
“be a man of worth, or any one in it to be a
“villain. But, in short, said he, I plainly see
“that you are intent on two schemes utterly
“inconsistent with one another, a government to
“be supported by violence, and the agents in it
“much less considerable in point of power than
“those who are to be governed.” In this manner
Theramenes talked.

They now summoned the whole city to a review; the three thousand to assemble in the forum, but all the rest, who were not in the list, at a distant place. The former they ordered to arms; and, whilst the rest were remotely engaged, they despatched the guards and such of the citizens as were in combination with them, to seize the arms of all the Athenians excepting the three thousand. And, having carried them into the citadel, they laid them up safe within the temple.

These things being done, as if now, with security, they might act all their pleasure, they put many to death from personal enmity, and many because they were rich^h. And, to enable them to pay the

^h Critias had been, in the earlier part of his life, a disciple of Socrates, and his bad conduct afterwards occasioned several reproaches to be thrown upon this divine philosopher, as if he had given him improper lessons. Xenophon hath justified Socrates

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Lacedæmonian guards, they also made a decree, that “each person of the thirty might apprehend
“one of the sojourners residing in the city, might
from these reproaches in a neat and most convincing manner. He also relates a severe censure that Socrates passed upon the impurity of his manners; and how, when Critias became one of the thirty tyrants, and had put many worthy men to death, Socrates made, in public, the following observation: “It would
“be strange (said he) if a person, who was appointed to take care
“of a herd of cattle, should lessen their number, and reduce the
“remainder to a state of weakness, and yet not confess that he
“was a bad keeper of cattle: but then it is much stranger that a
“person, who, governing in a community of men, lessens the
“number of the people under him, and reduces the rest to a state
“of desolation, can avoid taking shame to himself, and not
“confess that he is a wretched governor indeed.” This (says Xenophon) was carried to the tyrants; upon which, Critias and Charicles sent for Socrates, and showing him the law they had made, by which he was forbidden to teach the art of reasoning, they strictly enjoined him to hold no discourse at all with the young men of Athens. Socrates begged leave to propose some questions, that he might be sure of the meaning of this prohibition. They told him he might. “I declare myself (he then went on) always ready
“to obey the laws. But, lest I should transgress through
“ignorance, I would know explicitly from you, whether you
“forbid me to teach the art of reasoning, because you judge it to
“consist in saying what is right, or in saying what is wrong.
“For, if it consists in saying what is right, you clearly forbid me
“to say what is right; if it consists in saying what is wrong, it is
“certain, indeed, I ought always to endeavour to say what is
“right.” Charicles, upon this, grew angry, and replied: Since you are so ignorant, Socrates, we word the prohibition in such a manner that you cannot mistake; you are to hold no discourse at all with the young men of Athens. “But still (said he) to
“prevent mistakes, and to guard me from the least breach of
“your commands, declare to me, till what age you deem men
“young?” Till the age prescribed for their entrance into the senate (said Charicles), till then they are not to be deemed at

“ put him to death, and appropriate his wealth.” They then encouraged Theramenes to apprehend what sojourner he pleased. But the answer of Theramenes was—“ To me it appears base indeed, “ that men, who pique themselves on being the “ best men in Athens, should give into such “ outrages as the vile tribe of informers could not “ commit. The latter only extorted their money, “ but deprived not men of their lives. But, as “ for us, if we shall murder persons who have “ done us no wrong, merely to get their money, “ will not our behaviour be, in every respect,

years of discretion. Hold, therefore, no discourse at all with persons under thirty years of age. “ Suppose I want something “ of a tradesman who is under thirty, must I not ask him the “ price of what I want?” Ay, ay, certainly you may, said Charicles. But it is your way, Socrates, to ask questions about points in which you want to inform and not to be informed. You are to ask no such questions as those. “ Suppose, then, a “ person may ask me, where Charicles lives, or where Critias “ may be found, am I forbidden to give him any answer?” Here Critias put in: You are to hold no discourse at all about shoemakers and carpenters and braziers; though I fancy you have already vexed them with fetching them in for comparisons in your daily loquacity. “ Why then (said Socrates) I must “ refrain too from the consequences I draw from such com- “ parisons, and say nothing about justice and piety and things “ that are right and proper?” Ay, by Jove, you must, and from ever mentioning again your keepers of cattle; if not, you may depend upon it you shall suffer for it in your own goods and chattels too. From hence it is plain, it had been told them what Socrates had said about a keeper of cattle, which had made them exceeding angry with him. Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, Book I.

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“ more outrageous than theirsⁱ ?” Judging from hence that Theramenes would obstruct them in all their designs, they combine against him, and calumniate him privately to every member of the senate apart, as a determined opposer of their new polity. And then, having issued out orders to a party of young men, such as they judged would act most daringly, to repair to the senate-house with daggers under their skirts, they convened the senate. No sooner was Theramenes come in, than Critias rose up, and spoke as follows :

Speech of
Critias.

“ If there be a man in this house, who imagines
“ that more persons suffer death than the public
“ welfare requireth, let him only reflect, that in
“ all revolutions of government such every where
“ is the case. And, when revolutions end here
“ in an oligarchy, the greatest number of adver-
“ saries must necessarily start up, because Athens
“ is the most populous community in Greece,
“ and because for the longest series of time the
“ people here have been pampered in liberty.
“ For our parts, gentlemen of the senate, who
“ know what an oppressive yoke the democracy
“ hath ever proved to men of such qualifications
“ as we are and as you are ; who know, besides,
“ that the people can never be well affected to
“ the Lacedæmonians, to whom we owe our pre-
“ servation ; whereas, the most worthy men

ⁱ I am for making one sentence of two by a small but necessary correction ; viz. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰ ἀποκλινόμεν . . . λαμβανόμεν, πῶς &c.*—This is more in the manner of Xenophon. The future verb *ἀποκλινόμεν* calls for this alteration. Dr. Taylor.

“ amongst us may ever be their hearty friends :
“ on these considerations, and by advice of the
“ Lacedæmonians, we are new-modelling our
“ constitution ; and, whomsoever we perceive to
“ be an enemy to the oligarchy, we rid ourselves
“ of him to the utmost of our power. But then,
“ if any one of our own body gives a dangerous
“ opposition to our own favourite scheme, nothing,
“ on our principles, can be so equitable as to make
“ him suffer for it. And yet we are well assured,
“ that this Theramenes, who sits here amongst
“ us, is labouring his utmost to destroy both us
“ and you. I speak nothing but the truth. You
“ will be convinced of it yourselves if you only
“ reflect, that nobody is so lavish of his censure
“ on the present measures as this very Thera-
“ menes, nobody so ready to oppose when we are
“ willing to put one of the demagogues out of
“ our way. If, indeed, his principles had ori-
“ ginally been the same, though this would prove
“ him our enemy, it would not justly expose him
“ to the title of villain. But now, this very man,
“ the author of our confidence in, and our friend-
“ ship towards the Lacedæmonians, the author of
“ the late demolition of the power of the people,
“ and who was most active at exciting us to
“ inflict due punishment on our first set of ene-
“ mies,—now I say, when you, gentlemen, have
“ shown yourselves to be utter enemies to the
“ people, this very man takes upon him to be
“ displeased with your conduct, in order to secure
“ his own personal safety, and leave us to be
“ punished for all that hath been done.—Here,

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“ beyond all doubt, we are obliged to take ven-
“ geance upon him, not only as an enemy, but also
“ as a traitor. And treachery, of a truth, is a much
“ more heinous crime than open enmity, by how
“ much more difficult it is to guard against what
“ is not seen than against what is. Nay, it
“ carries a more implacable enmity with it, since
“ men at open variance with one another become
“ reconciled and renew a mutual confidence ; but
“ with a man, who is a traitor convict, no one
“ ever yet was, and no one can ever again be,
“ reconciled. But, to give you complete con-
“ viction that Theramenes is not merely a
“ changeling, but by nature a traitor, I will
“ remind you of his former behaviour.

“ This man, who, in the early part of his days,
“ was in the highest credit with the people, as
“ his father Agnon had been before him, showed
“ himself the most impetuous zealot in shifting
“ the power of the people into the hands of the
“ four hundred, and accordingly became the
“ leading man amongst them. And yet, he no
“ sooner perceived that a sufficient party was
“ formed against the four hundred, than he set
“ himself again at the head of the people against
“ his own accomplices. And this, in truth, is
“ the reason why he is styled the Buskin. The
“ buskin, you know, seems to fit both of the feet,
“ and is a buskin for either of them. But let me
“ tell you, Theramenes, a man, who deserves to
“ live at all, ought not to signalize himself by
“ leading his fellow-citizens into dangerous
“ schemes, and, when things go wrong, to make

“ a sudden turn and desert them. Embarked, as
“ it were, in the same ship with them, he ought
“ to share their toil, till they meet with more
“ favourable gales. For, in case he refuseth this,
“ how shall they ever reach their harbour in
“ safety, when at every adverse blast they must
“ immediately invert their course?

“ It must be owned, that revolutions in political
“ bodies carry death and destruction with them.
“ But you, sir, most dexterous in making your
“ turns, were the cause, that an unusual number
“ was put to death by the people when the
“ oligarchy was demolished, and an unusual
“ number put to death by the few when the
“ democracy was again suspended. And this
“ again is that very Theramenes, who, after the
“ sea-fight on the coast of Lesbos, being ordered
“ by the commanders to fetch off their country-
“ men from the wrecks, never executed that
“ order, and yet accused those very commanders,
“ and got them to be put to death, though merely
“ to save himself. And what mercy ought ever
“ be shown to that man, who hath made it the
“ business of his life to convince the world of his
“ own selfishness of heart, and of his total dis-
“ regard of his duty and his friends? And how
“ cautiously ought we to behave, who are con-
“ scious of his unsteady shifting temper, that he
“ may never be able to turn the tables upon us?

“ We therefore charge him before you as a
“ dangerous and subtle plotter, as a traitor to us
“ and to you. That we act on just and cogent
“ reasons, you will be convinced from hence—

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“ The polity of the Lacedæmonians is allowed by
 “ you all to be the finest in the world. Yet, if
 “ any one of the Ephori at Sparta, instead of
 “ conforming to the determinations of the body,
 “ should asperse their conduct and oppose their
 “ measures, can you think he would not be judged
 “ worthy of the severest punishment by all the
 “ rest of the Ephori and by the whole community?
 “ You, therefore, gentlemen, if you are wise
 “ indeed, will have no mercy on him, but will
 “ have mercy on yourselves. For, if Theramenes
 “ escapes with life, he will give fresh and higher
 “ spirits to many who are already your deter-
 “ mined foes; but, at once put to death, he will
 “ totally confound the hopes of all the factious
 “ either within the city or without.”

Critias having spoke thus, sat down. And Theramenes, rising up, made this defence:

Speech of
Theramenes.

“ I shall, gentlemen, first reply to the finishing
 “ article of his charge against me. He says—it
 “ was I who accused and got the commanders
 “ to be put to death. But I did not begin the
 “ prosecution against them. It was pleaded by
 “ themselves in their own justification, that I was
 “ ordered to do it, and did not save the lives of
 “ our unhappy countrymen in the sea-fight near
 “ Lesbos. I was heard in my own defence; and,
 “ insisting on the impossibility of putting to sea
 “ or fetching off the men because of the storm,
 “ was judged by all Athens to have spoken
 “ nothing but the truth. And so the charge of
 “ the commanders against me turned wholly upon
 “ themselves. For though, by their own con-

“ fession, it was possible to save them, yet they
 “ sailed away with the fleet, and left them all to
 “ perish.

“ I am not, however, surprised that Critias
 “ hath violated the laws of equity. He was not
 “ at Arginusæ; he saw no part of the transactions
 “ there; but was at that time in Thessaly,
 “ assisting Prometheus to set up a democracy,
 “ and arming ^kvassals against their lawful su-
 “ periors. His exploits in Thessaly were fine
 “ ones indeed! and grant Heaven we may never
 “ see the like in Athens!

“ And yet in one point I entirely agree with
 “ him, that if any man endeavours to put an end
 “ to your administration, and to strengthen the
 “ hands of your determined enemies, he ought,
 “ in all justice, to suffer the severest punishment.
 “ And, in my judgment, you yourselves, if you
 “ will only fix your recollection on what hath
 “ already been done, and what each of us are now
 “ doing, will be able most clearly to find out the
 “ man on whom the guilt of such practices ought
 “ entirely to be fastened.

“ So long, therefore, as the points in agitation
 “ were only these—to establish you, gentlemen,
 “ in the possession of the senate-house, to ap-
 “ point proper magistrates for the state, and to
 “ rid the community of a notorious set of in-
 “ formers, we all of us proceeded in perfect
 “ unanimity. But, when Critias and his faction
 “ began to apprehend the worthy and the good, I

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“ too began that moment to differ in sentiments
“ with them. I was well convinced, when Leon
“ of Salamis, who was reputed to be, and in
“ reality was, a worthy man, without being guilty
“ of the least misdemeanor, was put to death;—
“ that all such persons as he, would, with reason,
“ be alarmed for themselves; and, thus alarmed for
“ themselves, must needs turn out enemies to the
“ new administration. I was well assured, when
“ Niceratus, the son of Nicias, was apprehended,
“ a man of so large a fortune, and who had never
“ dabbled in popular intrigues, nor his father
“ before him,—that all such men as Niceratus
“ must needs conceive an aversion towards you.
“ And again, when Antipho was put to death by
“ you, Antipho, who, during the war, fitted out
“ two ships, that were excellent sailers, at his own
“ expense, I was firmly persuaded, that all men,
“ who from pure generosity were desirous to
“ serve their country, must entertain suspicions
“ of you. I also opposed, when they urged the
“ necessity for each person to seize one of the
“ sojourners residing in the city. For it was
“ plain to me, that, by putting these men to
“ death, the whole body of sojourners must be
“ made enemies to such an administration. I
“ also declared my opposition to taking away
“ their arms from the body of the citizens,
“ judging, that we ought not, in this manner, to
“ weaken our own community. I knew the
“ Lacedæmonians could never intend, when they
“ determined to save us, that we should be re-
“ duced so low as never again to be able to do

“ them service. For, had this been their scheme,
“ it was once in their power to have left not
“ one single Athenian alive, since famine in a
“ little time would have done it for them. And
“ I never could give my consent to take into our
“ pay these foreign guards, when we might have
“ been supported by a competent number of
“ honest Athenians, till, by gentle methods, we
“ had brought those who were to be governed
“ into quiet submission to us, who were to govern.
“ And when I perceived, that numbers of men in
“ Athens were actually become enemies to the
“ new administration, and numbers of our country-
“ men were driven into exile, I could never ap-
“ prove, that either Thrasybulus, or Anytus, or
“ Alcibiades, should be sent into exile after the
“ rest. For I plainly saw, that an accession of
“ strength accrued to our enemies, when able
“ heads were driven out to command the multi-
“ tude, and numbers showed themselves ready to
“ follow such as were willing to command them.

“ Ought, therefore, the man, who openly re-
“ monstrates aloud against such violent measures,
“ to be esteemed an honest man or a traitor?
“ You are mistaken, Critias. The persons who
“ restrain you from increasing the number of
“ your foes, who persuade you to enlarge to the
“ utmost the number of your friends, can in no
“ light be regarded as agents for your foes. By
“ every rule of judging, that character belongs to
“ others, to such as make plunder of the property
“ of their neighbours, to such as unjustly put the
“ innocent to death. Such men, beyond all con-

BOOK II.

“ tradition, enlarge the number of our enemies ;
“ such men are traitors not only to their friends,
“ but even to their ownselves, for the sake of
“ filthy lucre.

“ But, if you are not yet convinced that I
“ speak the truth, consider it in another light.
“ What set of measures, whether those which I
“ recommend, or those to which Critias and his
“ faction adhere, do you think are most pleasing
“ to Thrasybulus and Anytus, and the rest of the
“ exiles? For my own part, I am thoroughly
“ persuaded, that this very moment they are con-
“ fident that all the world is on their side. But,
“ were only the best families of Athens well
“ affected to us, they would judge it difficult,
“ indeed, to get the least footing any where within
“ our borders.

“ And now examine attentively with me the
“ remaining part of his charge, that I have been
“ for ever turning about.—It was the people of
“ Athens, and they alone, who placed the govern-
“ ment in the hands of the four hundred. They
“ were convinced, that the Lacedæmonians would
“ trust to any form of government whatever
“ sooner than the democracy. But, when after
“ all they would not relax in their demands, and
“ a factious parcel of our own commanders, such
“ as Aristotle, Melanthius, and Aristarchus, were
“ raising a work at the end of the pier, and with
“ a manifest design to let the enemy in amongst
“ us, and subject the state to themselves and
“ others ;—if I detected and put a stop to their
“ scheme, am I, therefore, a traitor to my friends?

“ He styles me, indeed, the Buskin, as if I en-
“ deavoured to fit both parties. And how then,
“ good Heaven! must we style that man, who
“ could never yet ingratiate himself with any
“ party at all? When the democracy was in being,
“ you, Critias, were judged the bitterest enemy
“ the people ever had; and, during the aristocracy,
“ you signalized your abhorrence of all good men.
“ But I, good sir! have ever been waging war
“ against those, who formerly thought a demo-
“ cracy never to be safe, till every slave and
“ every scoundrel, who, to gain a drachma, would
“ have sold the community, should have a share
“ in the government for the price of a drachma;
“ and have as constantly signalized myself in
“ opposition to those, who think an oligarchy
“ can never be safe, till they have enslaved the
“ whole community to a small parcel of tyrants.
“ Athens was then best constituted, when a com-
“ petent number of citizens were ready to defend
“ her with their horses and their shields. I
“ thought so formerly; and this very moment I
“ think the same. If you have any objections,
“ Critias, tell these gentlemen on what occasion
“ I ever attempted, in conjunction either with a
“ factious populace or a small parcel of tyrants,
“ to deprive any good and worthy Athenian of
“ the right and privileges to which he had just
“ pretensions. For, in case I am convicted of
“ doing so now, or ever to have done so in the
“ former part of my life, I frankly own, that
“ death in its severity ought, in all justice, to be
“ my doom.”

BOOK II.



Here Theramenes ended his defence; and a murmur, intimating their good will to him, ran round the senate. Critias was convinced by this, that, should he suffer the senate to proceed to a vote, Theramenes would escape him. But, regarding this as worse than death to himself, after drawing near and conferring a while with the thirty, he went out, and ordered those, who had daggers about them, to go into the house and take their stand at the bar. And then, coming in again, he spoke as follows:

Speech of
Critias.

“Gentlemen of the senate, I reckon it the
“duty of a good magistrate, not to stand by
“quietly and suffer gross impositions to pass upon
“his friends: and it shall be my care, at present,
“to discharge that duty. For even those gentle-
“men who now stand round the bar, declare
“they will never suffer us to let a man escape
“with impunity, who openly avows himself an
“enemy to the oligarchy. It is, indeed, enacted
“in the new body of laws, that no person in the
“list of the three thousand shall be put to death
“unless by a vote of the senate, but that the
“thirty be empowered to put any to death who
“are not in that list. I, therefore, (he went on,)
“with your entire approbation strike the name
“of this Theramenes here out of the list;—and
“we (he added) order him to be put to death.”

Theramenes, hearing this, leaped upon the altar, and cried out:

Speech of
Theramenes.

“I make to you, gentlemen of the senate, the
“most righteous request that ever can be made,
“by no means to suffer Critias to strike out my

“ name, or any of your names, at pleasure, but to
 “ adhere to the law, which these very persons
 “ have enacted concerning those in the list, that
 “ both I and yourselves may be judged according
 “ to the law. Of this, by heaven, I am well
 “ persuaded, that even this altar will avail me
 “ nothing. But I would willingly convince you all,
 “ that these men are not only most unjust in regard
 “ to their fellow-creatures, but most irreligious
 “ too towards the gods. And yet I am surprised
 “ at you, men as you are of honour and worth,
 “ that you will not succour your ownselves,
 “ though so well aware, that my name is not
 “ easier to be struck out of the list, than the name
 “ of any one amongst you.”

But here the crier belonging to the thirty
 ordered the eleven¹ to go and seize Theramenes. Theramenes
put to death.
 Accordingly they came in, attended by their own
 servants, with Satyrus, the most reprobate and
 audacious fellow alive, at their head. Critias
 thus addressed himself to them:—“ We deliver
 “ over to you that Theramenes yonder, who, by
 “ law, is condemned to die. Seize him you whose
 “ office it is; and then convey him hence to the
 “ proper place, and do your duty.” So soon as Critias
 had spoken, Satyrus was pulling him from off the
 altar, the servants too were helping to pull him
 down. Theramenes, as was likely he should,
 called aloud upon gods and men to take notice of
 what was doing. The senate continued quietly in
 their seats, seeing the bar surrounded by fellows

¹ Public executioners of justice.

BOOK II.

like Satyrus, and the area before the senate-house quite filled with the foreign guards, not ignorant besides, that those within had daggers about them. They hurried Theramenes away across the forum, in very loud lamentations deploring his fate. One thing, he said, is still talked of, and it is this:—When Satyrus told him—“if he did not hold his tongue, he would make his heart ache”—he replied—“But, will not my heart ache, though I should hold my tongue?” And, at the time of his execution, when he had drank off the poison, they say he dashed the little that was left in the cup upon the ground, and said—“May the brave Critias pledge me!” I am not ignorant, indeed, that such sententious escapes are not worth relating; but this I think worthy of admiration in the man, that, in the very hour of death, neither his good sense nor his pleasantry forsook him. And in this manner Theramenes died^m.

The thirty, as if they were now at liberty to tyrannize without restraint, issued out an order to all, whose names were not in the list, not to come into the city. They drove them also out of the country, that themselves and their friends might get into possession of their estates. It was to the Piræus that they went chiefly for refuge; but numbers of them, driven out also from thence, filled both Megara and Thebes with Athenian exiles.

^m And soon after Alcibiades was murdered by Pharnabazus at the request of Lysander, owing entirely to the instigations of Critias.

BOOK II.

Immediately after this it was that Thrasybulus, setting out from Thebes with about seventy persons in company, possesseth himself of the strong fort of Phyle. The thirty marched immediately out of Athens to recover the place, attended by the three thousand and the horsemen of the state; and the weather was very calm and fine. On their approach to Phyle, some of the younger sort, who piqued themselves on their bravery, immediately attacked the fort with no manner of success, since they were obliged to retire with plenty of wounds. But, the thirty having formed a design to throw up a work, in order, by cutting off the conveyance of all necessaries, the more easily to reduce them, there fell in the night an exceeding deep snow. Next morning, having been well drenched by the snow, they marched back to Athens, after losing many of their baggage-men in the retreat by a party that pursued them from Phyle. Apprehensive too, that they would plunder the adjacent country, if a guard was not properly posted, they despatch almost all the Lacedæmonian guards and two troops of horse to the extremity of their frontier, about ⁿfifteen stadia from Phyle: these, having encamped themselves on a rough spot of ground, set themselves on the watch.

But Thrasybulus, as now seven hundred persons were got together at ^oPhyle, put himself at their head, and marched out by night. Having ordered

Before Christ
403. Thrasy-
bulus takes up
arms against the
tyrants.

ⁿ One mile and a half.

^o Marginal reading of the Paris edition, 1625.

BOOK II. them to ground their arms^p at the distance of three or four stadia from the guard, he halted for a time. But, at the approach of day, and the enemy beginning to get up and straggle on their

^p This passage, with two others cited below, justifies the English translation, *ground their arms*. I am persuaded it ought always to be so translated, when the Greek phrase *θεμενος τα οπλα* stands simply and absolutely by itself; for *επι την γην*, or something like it, is, in this case, understood. The addition, indeed, of another or of more words, may vary the meaning. But, in these passages, the context determines the meaning beyond a doubt. Need it be mentioned, that when soldiers halt, or are upon a guard, it easeth them much to *ground their arms*, the men sometimes standing, sometimes lying down in their ranks, nay, sometimes walking about; yet, if discipline be alive to no greater distance, than to be able on the most sudden alarm to fall again into their ranks, and *recover their arms*. But to the point in hand:

Thrasybulus, under favour of the dark, is got undiscovered within three or four stadia of the enemy. The better to direct his attack, he waits for day-light; and, in the mean-time, to ease his men and preserve their vigour for action, *θεμενος τα οπλα ησυχιαν ειχεν* . . . but at day-light *αναλαβοντες τα οπλα* . . . *προσεπιπλον*.

See farther, page 87, l. 19, where the action is rather more distinct, for the men only ground their shields, and not their spears or javelins, *της μετ' αυτης δεσθαι κελευσας τας ασπιδας, και αυτος θεμενος, ταδ' αλλα οπλα εχων* . . . *ελεξεν*. And, when the speech is ended, the corresponding phrase soon occurs, *ανελαβε* or *ανελαβον τα οπλα*.

See also Book VII. near the end, where Epaminondas is preparing for the battle of Mantinea . . . *εθελω τα οπλα, ως εικασθη στρατοπεδευμενω*. This could never be *standing to their arms*, which could not have imposed upon the enemy. But he ordered the arms to be *grounded*, as if he was going, not to fight, but to encamp. The enemy observed the action and was deceived, for Epaminondas soon saw his opportunity . . . *τοτε δη αναλαβειν παραγγειλας τα οπλα* . . . and began the attack.

necessary business from the camp, and the noise being heard which the grooms made in currying their horses, at this juncture the party under Thrasybulus recovered their arms, and came running in amongst them. They made some of them prisoners, and put all the rest to flight, pursuing them to the distance of six or seven stadia. They slew more than one hundred and twenty of the heavy-armed, and Nicostratus (who was called the handsome) of the horsemen: two other horsemen they had seized in their beds. After quitting the pursuit and erecting a trophy, they packed up all the arms and baggage they had taken from the enemy, and marched back to Phyle. The horsemen, who marched out of Athens to succour their brethren, were too late to gain the sight even of a single foe. They continued, however, in the field, till their relations had carried off the dead, and then withdrew into the city.

The thirty, who now apprehended that their power began to totter, bethought themselves of securing Eleusis, that, when things were at the worst, they might be sure of a place of shelter. Having, therefore, issued out orders to the Athenian horse to attend, Critias and the rest of the thirty repaired to Eleusis; where, having ordered out to a review the horsemen of Eleusis, pretending they must know exactly how many they were, and how many more were wanting to garrison the place, they commanded them all to give in their names; and each person, so soon as his name was taken down, was ordered to go through the wicket to the sea. They had posted their own

BOOK II.

horse on either side of the wicket upon the beach; and the servants seized and bound every Eleusinian as he came out of the wicket. And, when all of them were bound in this manner, they ordered Lysimachus, who commanded the horse, to deliver them into the custody of the eleven. Next day they assembled in the Odeum the heavy-armed in the list and the rest of the horsemen, where Critias rose up, and addressed them thus: "We, gentlemen, are settling a new form of government for your benefit as much as for our own. You, therefore, are obliged, as you will share the honours, to take an equal share in all the dangers. You must, therefore, sentence to death the Eleusinians whom we have secured, that both in your hopes and in your fears you may be united with us."—Then, having pointed out a certain spot, he ordered them to give their ballots in the presence of all the assembly. But the Lacedæmonian guards were, this moment, drawn up under arms, so as to fill half the Odeum. Yet even this behaviour was not displeasing to some citizens of Athens, to such as had no regard for any thing but their ownselves.

The number of those who had gathered together at Phyle was now increased to a thousand; and Thrasybulus, putting himself at their head, marcheth by night into the Piræus. No sooner had the thirty intelligence of it, than in person they sallied out against them with the Lacedæmonian guards, the horsemen, and the heavy-armed. They took their march along the cart-way that goes down to the Piræus. Those from Phyle for some time

attempted to stop their approach. But, as so large a compass of ground was judged to require a very large number of men to guard it, and themselves were few indeed, they wheeled off by regular bodies into Munychia. Those from the city immediately repaired into the forum of Hippodameia, where, having formed into regular order, they afterwards filled up the way that leads to the temple of Diana in Munychia, and to the Bendideum. They were in depth not less than fifty shields; and, thus drawn up, they were mounting the ascent. But those from Phyle likewise filled up the road, though they were not more than ten heavy-armed in depth. The targeteers and light-armed darters were posted behind them, and behind these were the slingers. The latter were numerous indeed, since now they were in a way of continual increase. But, during the enemy's approach, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields: and, having laid down his own, though keeping the rest of his arms, he placed himself in the midst of them, and harangued them thus:

“ I am desirous, my fellow-citizens, to inform
 “ some of you, and put the rest in mind, that, of
 “ yonder body now approaching to fight us, those
 “ posted on the right are the very people whom
 “ you beat and pursued but five days ago. But
 “ those in the extremity of the left are the thirty,
 “ who have deprived us, though guilty of no
 “ offence at all, of our rights and liberties, have
 “ driven us from our houses, and, by an illegal
 “ sentence, stripped the dearest friends we have
 “ of all their property. But now we have them

Speech of
 Thrasybulus.

BOOK II.

“ fast, where they expected never to have been
“ found, and we have continually been praying
“ to find them. With arms in our power we are
“ now drawn up and face them. All the heavenly
“ powers know we have been seized upon during
“ the hours of repast and the hours of repose, and
“ our peaceable walks upon the forum; and that
“ some of us, so far from having offended at all,
“ and not even residing in the city, have been
“ doomed to exile; and all these heavenly powers
“ at present declare themselves on our side. For
“ instance, in the finest weather they raise a
“ storm, when it serves our cause; and, when we
“ give the assault to a more numerous body of
“ our foes, they have enabled us, though but a
“ handful of men, to erect our trophies. And
“ now they have led us to a spot of ground, in
“ which the enemy cannot throw their darts or
“ javelins over the heads of the heavy-armed in
“ their own front, because they are mounting an
“ ascent; whilst ourselves, who are to throw our
“ javelins and darts and stones down hill, shall
“ reach them at every throw, and shall wound
“ numbers. It was but reasonable to judge we
“ should have been obliged to engage the heavy-
“ armed in their van on level ground: but now,
“ if you will only throw your weapons in the
“ proper and judicious manner, the way is so
“ crowded with them, that every weapon must
“ do execution, and they have no defence left
“ but to be sculking perpetually under their
“ shields. Disabled thus from seeing their as-
“ sailants, we shall have opportunities to strike

“ at our own discretion, and of driving each
“ fighting man from his rank.

“ But you, my fellow-citizens, should act with
“ the full conviction, that each man amongst you
“ must personally earn the victory at present.
“ For that victory, if heaven awards it us, will
“ instantly restore us our country, and our habita-
“ tions, and our liberty, and our honours, and to
“ some amongst us, our children and our wives.
“ Happy men, indeed, will such of us be, as, after
“ the victory, shall see the sweetest day that
“ men can live. And blessed will he be too,
“ who dies in the struggle: for all the wealth in
“ the world cannot purchase so noble a monument
“ as will be that man’s portion.—I myself, at the
“ proper time, shall begin the pæan: and, when
“ we have invoked the god of battle, then, with
“ one heart and all our hands united, let us re-
“ venge ourselves on yonder men for all the
“ wrongs they have made us suffer.”

After this harangue, he returned again to his post, and stood quietly facing the enemy. For the soothsayer had strictly enjoined him “ in no
“ wise to begin the attack before one of their
“ own people was either killed or wounded.—So
“ soon as ever that happens, we ourselves (said
“ he) shall lead you forwards. The consequence
“ to you will be victory, and death to me, if I
“ prophecy right.” He was no false prophet: for, the moment they recovered their arms, he jumped out of the rank, like a man hurried by divine impulse; and, rushing amongst the enemy, dies in a moment, and was buried at the ford of

BOOK II.

the Cephissus. His friends obtained a victory, and carried their pursuit down into the plain.

Critias killed.

Critias and Hippomachus of the thirty, and Charmidas the son of Glauco, one of the ten governors of the Piræus, and others, to the number of seventy, lost their lives in the engagement. The conquerors plundered them of their arms, but stripped off the garment from none of their fellow-citizens. And, when all was over, and they had granted a truce for fetching off the dead, they began to approach and confer with one another, till at length Cleocritus, herald of the Mystæ, remarkable for the loudness of his voice, proclaimed silence, and spoke as follows:

Speech of
Cleocritus.

“ What is the reason, my fellow-citizens, that
 “ you drive us from Athens? What is the reason
 “ you are so intent on destroying us? On no
 “ occasion whatever have we done you any
 “ wrong, but have ever shared along with you
 “ the most solemn temples, the most pompous
 “ sacrifices and feasts. We have assisted in the
 “ same choruses, we have walked in the same
 “ processions, we have served in the same armies,
 “ and have partook the same dangers with you
 “ both by sea and land, in defence of the common
 “ safety and liberty of us all. I conjure you,
 “ therefore, by our parental gods, by the ties of
 “ affinity, consanguinity, and friendship (for, in
 “ all these respects, we are many of us connected
 “ together),—I conjure you to show some re-
 “ verence both to gods and men, by ceasing to
 “ sin against your country, and by no longer
 “ obeying these execrable tyrants, who, for their

“ own private gain, have nearly slain as many
“ citizens of Athens in the space of eight months,
“ as all the Peloponnesians slew in ten years’ war.
“ We might have lived together in an orderly
“ and peaceable manner; but these tyrants oblige
“ us to make war upon one another—a war, the
“ basest, most grievous, most impious, and most
“ abominated by gods and men, that human
“ creatures were ever engaged in. But know,
“ for most true it is, that some of those persons,
“ who died by our hands in the late engagement,
“ have cost abundance of tears to ourselves as
“ well as to you.”

In this manner Cleocritus spoke: but the commanders on the other side, and the sooner too for having heard such a speech, marched away their people into the city.

The day following, the thirty, solitary and quite dejected, took their seats in council. But the three thousand, wheresoever posted, were at variance one with another. So many of them as had committed any acts of violence, and were now alarmed for their own safety, declared in a vehement tone against submission, in any shape, to those in the Piræus. But, as many as were conscious they had done no harm, immediately saw matters in a true light, and were persuading the rest, that “ the present evil situation was not in
“ the least conducive to their welfare.” They insisted “ it was no longer their duty to obey the
“ thirty, nor suffer them to destroy their country.” And at last they passed a decree, “ to put an end

The tyranny
demolished.

BOOK II.

“ to the thirty, and elect others.” Accordingly they chose ten, one out of every tribe. The thirty went off immediately to Eleusis. But the ten, as the city was full of confusion and mutual diffidence, applied themselves to preserve the peace with the aid of the generals of the horse. The horsemen, with both horses and shields, passed the night in the Odeum. Distrustful as they were, they patrolled from the beginning of night towards the walls with their shields, and when it was near day on horseback, being under continual apprehensions lest a body of men from the Piræus might break in amongst them. The latter, as they were now become exceeding numerous, and a collection of all sorts of persons, were busy in making themselves shields of wood or the twigs of osier, and these were afterwards whitened. Yet, before ten days were passed, proper security being given that “ whoever would “ join them in arms, even though they were not “ natives of Athens, should be admitted to an “ equal share of right and privilege,” many of the heavy-armed, and many of the light-armed too, went off to the Piræus. Their horsemen also were now increased to the number of seventy. In the day-time they went out to forage, and, having fetched in wood and the fruits of the season, reposed themselves by night in the Piræus. Not one of the heavy-armed in the city sallied out against them; but the horse came once to a skirmish with the plundering parties from the Piræus, and threw the body that covered them

into disorder. Another time they fell in with some ^apersons of the borough of Ænone, going to their own lands to fetch provisions, and took them prisoners; and these Lysimachus, one of the generals of horse, immediately butchered, though they begged hard for their lives, and many of the horsemen expressed an abhorrence at putting them to death. And those in the Piræus retaliated upon them, by butchering, in like manner, Callistratus, of the horse of the Leontine tribe, whom they took prisoner in the country. For now their spirits were raised so high, that they even gave an assault to the walls of the city. And here it may be excusable to mention a mechanic of the city, who, becoming well assured that the enemy would place their battering machines in the course that goes out of the Lyceum, ordered all the carts to load with single stones, and throw them down at their own discretion in the course. For, when this was performed, the removal of each of these stones gave the enemy a deal of trouble.

Ambassadors were now sent away to Lacedæmon, not only by the thirty from Eleusis, but by those in the list from Athens, who entreated their speedy aid, since the people had revolted from the Lacedæmonians. Lysander, reasoning with himself that “a siege both by land and sea must quickly reduce the enemy in the Piræus if they were deprived of all future supplies,” exerted

^a Τῶν ἐξω νέων in the Greek; but I translate it Αἰξωνέων, according to the reading of Palmerius.

BOOK II.



himself so effectually, that a hundred talents^{*} were advanced by way of loan for this service, and himself was ordered to go and command by land, and his brother Libys by sea. He himself went off immediately to Eleusis, where he collected into a body the heavy-armed from Peloponnesus. Libys, in the mean-time, kept so strict a watch at sea, that not one boat with provisions could get into the Piræus. By this means those in the Piræus were soon distressed by famine, whilst those in the city were greatly animated by the coming of Lysander.

Pausanias.

When affairs were in this situation, Pausanias, king of Sparta, envious of Lysander, since, if he succeeded now, his glory would be greater than ever, and Athens would become entirely his own, obtained the consent of three of the Ephori, and proclaims a foreign expedition. All the confederates put themselves under his command, except the Bœotians and Corinthians, who alleged that “they could not, in any consistence
“ with their oaths, make war against the Athe-
“ nians, who had broken no one article of the
“ peace.” The true motive of their refusal was their own persuasion, that the Lacedæmonians designed to get possession of all Attica, and to make it a province of their own. Pausanias, however, encamped the army near the Piræus at Halipedum. He himself commanded in the right, and Lysander, with the mercenary troops, had the left. He sent ambassadors to those in the Piræus,

^{*} Twenty thousand and fifty pounds.

commanding them "to separate and be gone." But, as they refused compliance, he proceeded to an assault, to the noise of one at least, that he might conceal his real design to save them. And, when no advantage could be gained by such an assault, he again retired.

BOOK II.

The day following, putting himself at the head of two Lacedæmonian brigades and three troops of the Athenian horse, he marched down to the Still harbour, examining in what manner a circumvallation might be thrown up quite round the Piræus. But, in his return to the camp, as some of the enemy sallied out upon him and retarded his march, he grew angry, and ordered the horse to ride out upon them, and the first class of Spartans to advance with the horse, whilst himself followed with the rest of his force. They slew about thirty of the light-armed, and pursued the rest to the theatre in the Piræus. All the targeteers happened to be drawn up there in arms, and the heavy-armed too of the Piræus. The light-armed sallied out in a moment against the enemy; they were poisoning, were throwing, were shooting, were slinging. The Lacedæmonians, as numbers of them were wounded, unable to withstand the attack, gave ground. Their enemies, perceiving this, plied upon them more briskly than ever. Here Chæron and Thibracus, both of them general officers, are slain; Lacrates also, an Olympic victor, and other Lacedæmonians, who are buried in the Ceramicus near the gates. Thrasybulus saw what was doing, and with the rest of the heavy-armed marched to the aid of his

A skirmish between Pausanias and Thrasybulus.

BOOK II.

own people; and they were soon formed eight deep before the light-armed. But Pausanias, who was greatly distressed, and had already retreated four or five stadia to some rising ground, sent orders to the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the confederates to march up to him. And then, having drawn his whole army into a very deep and compact body, he led them against the Athenians. The latter stood the shock; but some of them were soon driven into the mud at Alæ, and some took to flight. About an hundred and fifty of them were slain. And Pausanias, after erecting a trophy, marched away to his camp.

An accommoda-
tion brought
about.

He was not, after all this, exasperated against them; but, secretly sending his emissaries amongst them, instructs those in the Piræus “to address themselves, by an embassy, to himself and the Ephori with him with such and such proposals.” They followed his instructions. He raiseth farther a division in the city, and orders as large a number of them as could be got together to repair to his camp with a remonstrance, that “they saw no reason at all to continue the war against those in the Piræus, but they ought to be reconciled, and all parties unite in being friends to the Lacedæmonians.” Naucrides, one of the Ephori, heard this remonstrance with pleasure. For since, by the laws of Sparta, two Ephori must accompany the king in the field, and he himself and another person were now attending in that capacity, both of them were more in the sentiments of Pausanias than in those of Lysander. For this reason, therefore, they readily despatched away to Lacedæmon

the ambassadors from those in the Piræus (who carried with them the articles agreed upon in relation to the Lacedæmonians), and some persons without a public character from those in the city, beside Cephisophon and Melitus. After these were set out for Lacedæmon, those who had now authority in the city sent a deputation after them, declaring that “they actually surrender the walls that are yet in their power, and their own persons, to the Lacedæmonians at discretion; but they think it reasonable, that they in the Piræus, if they pretend to be friends to the Lacedæmonians, should also surrender to them the Piræus and Munychia.” The Ephori and council of state, having heard all sides, despatched fifteen persons to Athens, and ordered them, in concurrence with Pausanias, to complete the reconciliation on the most honourable terms that could be made. They completed it on these, that “they should be at peace with one another; should on each side repair to their own habitations, except the thirty and the eleven, and the ten, who had commanded in the Piræus;—but, in case any of those in the city were afraid to continue there, they might withdraw to Eleusis.”

All points being now adjusted, Pausanias disbanded his army: and they of the Piræus, marching up under arms into the citadel, sacrificed to Minerva. But, when the commanders were come down again from the citadel, Thrasybulus spoke as follows:

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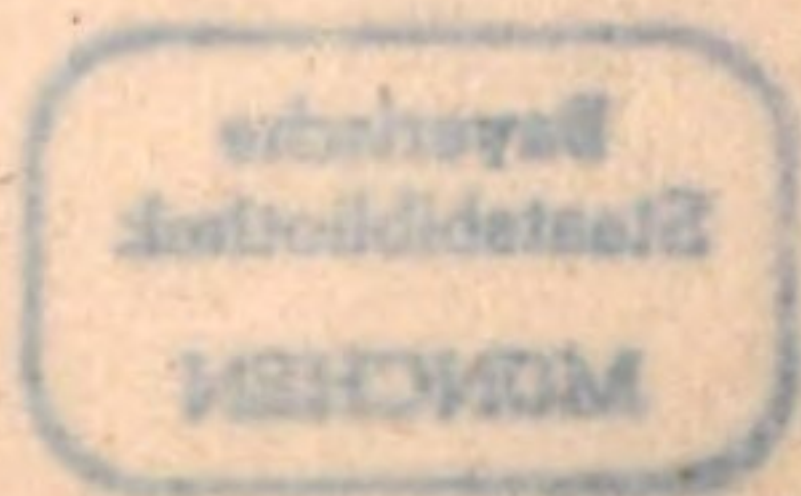
BOOK II.

Speech of
Thrasybulus.

“ To you, Athenians, who have been of the
 “ party in the city, I give this advice, that you
 “ would know your own selves. This knowledge
 “ you will readily gain, if you will reflect, for
 “ what reason you took so highly upon you as to
 “ attempt to make us your slaves. Are you men
 “ of more integrity^s than we? Why, the body of
 “ the people, poor indeed as they are in compari-
 “ son with you, have never, for money, done you
 “ any injury: but you, who have more wealth
 “ than all the people put together, from the mere
 “ motives of avarice, have done many scandalous
 “ injuries to them. Since, therefore, the plea of
 “ integrity cannot avail you, consider another.
 “ Have you taken so highly upon you, because
 “ you are men of greater bravery? Why, what
 “ clearer decision can be made of this point, than
 “ the manner we have warred upon one another?
 “ But it is wisdom, you may say, in which you
 “ excel.—You had fortifications, you had arms,
 “ you had wealth, you had, beside, the Pelopon-
 “ nesians for your confederates, and yet have
 “ been overpowered by men, who had none at all
 “ of these advantages. Yet, perhaps, you took
 “ so highly upon you, because the Lacedæmonians
 “ were your friends?—But how? Why, as men
 “ fasten^t biting curs by a collar, and give them
 “ up to those they have bitten, just so the Lace-

^s Δικαιοίτεροι, marg. reading, Paris edit. 1625.

^t Ὡσπερ οἱ τὰς δακνόντας κυνάς κλοιῶ, marginal reading, Paris edit. 1625.



“ dæmonians, after giving up you to an injured
 “ people, have rid themselves of you, and are
 “ gone. Far be it, however, from me, Athenians,
 “ to incite any of you to a violation, in any
 “ degree, of the oaths you have sworn. I only
 “ exhort you to show all mankind, that, beside
 “ all your other glories, you can keep your oaths,
 “ and be religiously good.”

Having spoken thus, and said a great deal more,
 about refraining from giving any farther dis-
 turbance to one another, and adhering firmly to
 their ancient laws, he dismissed the assembly.
 Having next appointed a new set of magistrates,
 the government went regularly forwards. But,
 hearing some time after, that those at Eleusis were
 taking foreigners into pay, they marched against
 them with the whole force of the city, and slew
 the commanders when they came out to parley.
 They sent their friends and relations, amongst the
 rest, to persuade them to a reconciliation. At
 length, having sworn to one another that “ they
 “ would never remember grievances,” they, to
 this day, live quietly together, and the people
 stand firm to their oaths.

Year before
 Christ 402.

The amnesty.

Year before
 Christ
 401.
 400.
 399.
 398.
 397.
 396.
 395.

HISTORY

OF

THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

BOOK III.

War in Asia.—History of Mania, and the subtle Conduct of Dercyllidas.—Agesilaus declared one of the Kings at Sparta.—His Expedition into Asia, and his noble Conduct.—War in Greece between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, in which Lysander is slain.

BOOK III.

Year before
Christ,
401.
400.
399.
398.
397.
396.
Cyrus.

THE sedition at Athens was in this manner brought to an end.

After this, Cyrus sent envoys to Lacedæmon, and demanded, that “as he had behaved towards
“ the Lacedæmonians in the war against the
“ Athenians, so now the Lacedæmonians should
“ behave towards him.” The Ephori, acknowledging the equity of his demand, sent orders to Samius, who was at this time admiral of their fleet, “to do all the service in his power to
“ Cyrus.” Samius accordingly performed with cheerfulness whatever Cyrus desired of him. For,

having joined his own fleet with that of Cyrus, he sailed round to Cilicia, and disabled Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, from giving any molestation by land to Cyrus in his march against the king. Yet in what manner Cyrus drew an army together, and conducted the expedition against his brother, and how the battle was fought, and how Cyrus lost his life, and how afterwards the Greeks retreated safe to the sea, hath been written by Themistogenes the Syracusan^a.

But now when Tissaphernes, who was judged to have done the king excellent service in the war against his brother, was sent down again, to be governor of the provinces he himself had governed before, and of those also which had belonged to Cyrus, he immediately insisted that all the cities of Ionia should acknowledge him for their master: but these, from a desire to be free, added to their dread of Tissaphernes, with whom they had never acted, but had always joined Cyrus so long as he was living, refused to receive him within their walls. On the contrary, they despatched away ambassadors to Lacedæmon, representing there, that “as the Lacedæmonians are the ruling state in Greece, they were bound to take under their protection the Greeks in Asia, that their lands might not be ravaged and they might still be free.” The Lacedæmonians

^a There is no such history now to be met with. So fine a subject, no doubt, excited others to write as well as Themistogenes. But Xenophon only was equal to the task of penning his own achievements. It seems probable from hence, that he had not yet written, or at least not finished, his own history of the Anabasis.

BOOK III.

Thimbro
commands in
Asia.

therefore sent Thimbro to take upon him the command, having assigned him a thousand soldiers of those who were newly enfranchised, and four thousand other Peloponnesians. Thimbro desired farther to have three hundred horse from the Athenians, promising that he himself would take care to pay them. They sent him that number, composed of such persons as had served in the cavalry under the thirty, judging it clear gain to the people, if these were sent into a foreign country and perished there.

When these were arrived in Asia, Thimbro further drew the troops together that belonged to the Greek cities on that continent. For all those cities readily obeyed, as a Lacedæmonian was now in the command. And yet with all this army Thimbro would not march down into the plains: he was awed by the enemy's horse, and contented himself to preserve the country where he was from devastation. But when those, who had been in the expedition with Cyrus, were safely returned^b, and had joined his army, he ever after that drew up boldly in the plains against Tissaphernes. He became master of some cities; of Pergamus, by voluntary surrender; of Teuthrania also and Ali-sarnia, which belonged to Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedæmonian: for this country had been given to Demaratus by the king, in requital for his serving with him in the invasion of Greece. Gorgio also and Gongylus came over to him. They were bro-

^b Under the command of Xenophon himself.

thers; and one of them was master of Gambrium and Palægambrium, the other of Myrine and Grynium. These cities also were a present from the king to Gongylus, the only person who had been exiled from Eretria for his attachment to the Medes. There were cities too, which, because of their weakness, Thimbro reduced by storm. Yet he was obliged to encamp before Larissa, which is styled the Ægyptian, and besiege it in form, because it would not hearken to any capitulation. And when he could not reduce it by other methods, he sunk a deep pit, from whence he continued a subterraneous trench, with a design to draw off their water. But as the besieged, by frequent sallies from the walls, filled up the pit with pieces of timber and stones, he built a wooden penthouse, and placed it over the pit. And yet the Larisseans, who made a sudden sally in the night, set fire to this penthouse and burnt it to ashes. As he was now judged to be doing nothing, the Ephori sent him an order to raise the siege and march into Caria. But, when he was got to Ephesus in order to begin that expedition, Dercyllidas came with orders to supersede him in the command; a man in high reputation for the subtlety of his genius, and for that reason known by the name of Sisyphus. Thimbro therefore departed for Sparta, where he was fined and sent into exile, since the confederates preferred an accusation against him, for permitting his soldiers to plunder their friends.

Year before
Christ 398.

Thimbro
recalled.

Dercyllidas was no sooner in the command, than knowing that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus

Dercyllidas
commands in
Asia.

BOOK III.

were suspicious of each other, he had an interview and made a private bargain with the former, and then led off his army into the country of Pharnabazus, choosing rather to make war against one of them singly, than against both of them at once. Besides this, Dercyllidas had been of a long time an enemy to Pharnabazus. For, having been commandant at Abydus whilst Lysander was admiral of the fleet, a complaint had been made against him by Pharnabazus, for which he was obliged to stand holding his shield. By all Lacedæmonians of spirit this is reckoned high disgrace, as it is the punishment for breach of discipline. And for this reason he marched with more pleasure to himself against Pharnabazus. He soon convinced the world, that he was a much better man for command than Thimbro; for, as he marched his army through a friendly country all the way to Æolia that belonged to Pharnabazus, he did no damage at all to the confederates.

History of
Mania.

Æolia, indeed, belonged to Pharnabazus; but one Zenis, a Dardan, so long as he lived, had been governor of the province under him. But when Zenis was carried off by sickness, and Pharnabazus was preparing to dispose of the government to another person, Mania, the wife of Zenis, who also herself was a Dardan, having got her equipage in order, and taken money with her to make presents to Pharnabazus, and to gratify his mistresses and favourites, performed her journey, and being admitted to an audience, addressed him thus:

Speech of
Mania.

“ My husband, Pharnabazus, was in all other
“ respects your hearty friend, and was punctual in

“ the payment of his tributes. For this you gave
“ him praises, and you gave him honours too. If,
“ therefore, I myself can serve you in no worse a
“ manner than he did, why should you appoint any
“ other person to command the province? If, in-
“ deed, I should not answer your expectations, it
“ will be always in your power to remove me,
“ and to bestow the government upon another.”

Pharnabazus, having heard her, determined that the lady should be governante of the province. And when she was settled in it, she paid the tributes with as much punctuality as her husband had paid them; and beside that, whenever she waited upon Pharnabazus, she constantly brought him presents. Nay, whenever he came into her province, she entertained him in a more generous and elegant manner than any of his subgovernors. All the cities that originally belonged to her district she kept firm in their obedience, and enlarged the number by the acquisition of some on the sea-coast; for instance, of Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ. She assaulted these places with troops she had hired from Greece. Seated in a high chariot, she viewed every attack, and was remarkably liberal in her gratuities to those whom she had a mind to distinguish for their good behaviour; and by this means was become mistress of a most splendid body of mercenaries. She even took the field in company with Pharnabazus, whenever he invaded the Mysians or Pisidians for committing hostilities on the dominions of the king. Pharnabazus in return loaded her with honours, and on

BOOK III. some occasions gave her even a seat in his council.

~~~~~ She was now above forty years of age, when Midias, her daughter's husband, buoyed up by some of his flatterers, who represented "how base it" was that a woman should rule, and himself be "only a private person," whilst she was on her guard against all the world beside, as people in such invidious stations must necessarily be, but had an entire confidence in, and even a fondness for him, as much as a mother-in-law can have for her daughter's husband,—this Midias, I say, is reported to have stolen into her chamber and strangled her. He also put her son to death, who was a most beautiful youth, and not above seventeen years of age. And after these murders he took possession of Scepsis and Gergis, two fortified cities, in which Mania had reposed the greatest part of her treasures. The other cities would not submit to him, but the garrisons within preserved them for Pharnabazus. Midias after this sent presents to Pharnabazus, and solicited the government of the province which had belonged to Mania. He was ordered to keep his presents, "till" Pharnabazus came in person to take into his "custody both the presents and the sender. For" he declared he would either lose his life, or "be revenged for Mania."

Proceedings of  
Dercyllidas.

At this very time Dercyllidas arrives; and immediately, in one and the same day, was master, by their voluntary surrender, of the cities on the coast, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ. He also sent round to the Æolian cities, insisting upon it, that



they should assert their freedom, should receive him within their walls, and become confederates. Accordingly, the Neandrians and Ilians and Cocylitans obeyed the summons; for, as these cities were garrisoned by Grecians, they had not been well dealt with since the death of Mania. But the commandant of Cebren, who found himself at the head of a garrison in a well-fortified town, had judged that, in case he preserved the town for Pharnabazus, he should be nobly recompensed for it, and therefore refused to receive Dercyllidas. Exasperated at this refusal, Dercyllidas prepared for an assault. But when on the first day's sacrifice the victims were not favourable, he sacrificed again the day after. And when nothing appeared favourable at this second sacrifice, on the third day he sacrificed again. Nay, he continued to do so four days together, though inwardly very much dissatisfied. He was eager to compass the reduction of all Æolia before Pharnabazus could come up to its succour.

One Athenadas, of Sicyon, who commanded a company of heavy-armed, took it into his head that Dercyllidas trifled sadly on this occasion, and that he himself could cut off the water of the Cebrenians. Running up, therefore, with his own company, he endeavoured to fill up their fountain. But the inhabitants, sallying out against him, wounded Athenadas, killed two of his men, and sometimes fighting close, and sometimes at a distance, entirely repulsed them. Whilst Dercyllidas was fretting at this incident, and judged it might slacken the ardour of the assault, the heralds of



## BOOK III.

the Greeks came out from the wall, and assured him “ they did not concur in the behaviour of “ their commander, but chose rather to be along “ with their countrymen, than along with a Bar- “ barian.” Whilst they were yet speaking, a messenger came also from the commandant, declaring, that “ what the heralds said, was his own “ sense of things.” Dercyllidas, therefore, the next day, for he had now sacrificed with favourable signs, ordered his soldiers to their arms, and led them towards the gates. They threw open the gates, and gave them admittance. Having, therefore, fixed a garrison here, he marched immediately against Scepsis and Gergis.

But Midias, who expected Pharnabazus, and was even afraid of the inhabitants, sent a message to Dercyllidas, and assured him, that “ if he would “ give him hostages, he would come out to a conference.” He immediately sent him one from each of the confederate cities, and bade him take which of them and as many of them as he pleased. Midias took ten of them, and came out. And now advancing to Dercyllidas, he asked him —“ On what conditions he might be a confederate?” He answered—“ By leaving the inhabitants of the cities in a state of freedom and “ independence;”—and, saying these words, he moved forwards to Scepsis. Midias, sensible that if the inhabitants were willing to admit him he could not prevent it, suffered him to enter the city. Dercyllidas, after sacrificing to Minerva in the citadel of the Scepsians, made the garrison of Midias withdraw; and, having delivered the city



to the inhabitants, and exhorted them to behave for the future as Grecians and as freemen ought, he left it, and marched towards Gergis. But many of the Scepsians, as they honoured the man and were highly pleased with his behaviour, accompanied his march. Midias further, who was still in company, begged him to leave in his custody the city of the Gergithians; to which Dercyllidas replied, that “he should have justice done him in every respect.” And, saying these words, he went up to the gates with Midias; and his army followed him by two and two in a most peaceful manner. The people on the turrets, which were exceeding lofty, as they saw Midias with him, threw not so much as a single dart. But when Dercyllidas said to him—“Order the gates to be opened, Midias, that you may show me the way, and I go with you to the temple, and sacrifice to Minerva,”—here Midias boggled about opening the gates. Afraid, however, that he should instantly be put under arrest, he ordered them to be opened. Dercyllidas was no sooner in the town, than, with Midias still at his side, he went to the citadel. He ordered his soldiers to ground their arms round the walls, but with his own attendants he sacrificed to Minerva. When he had finished the sacrifice, he ordered the guards of Midias to go and ground their arms in the front of his own troops, as now taken into his pay, since Midias had no longer any thing to fear. Midias, however, who began to be in great anxiety, said to him—“I must leave you for the present, to go and get ready for you the hospitable



## BOOK III.



“feast.”—“That is what I never shall permit,” replied Dercyllidas, since it would be base in me, who have offered the sacrifice, to accept of an entertainment from the man whom I ought to feast. Stay therefore here with us; and, whilst supper is preparing, let you and me confer together about what ought to be done, and then we will do it.”

When the company was seated, Dercyllidas began with this question—“Tell me, Midias, did your father leave you in possession of all his substance?” “He did,” said Midias. “And how many houses have you in all? how many fields have you? how many pastures?” Whilst he was reciting the particulars, some of the Sceprians who were present cried out—“He tells lies, Dercyllidas.” “You need not insist,” replied Dercyllidas, “on his being quite exact.” When he had recited all his inheritance—“But tell me,” Dercyllidas went on, “whom did Mania belong to?” The whole company answered,—“To Pharnabazus.” “Then all she had belonged also to Pharnabazus?” “It did,” was the general answer. “Therefore it now belongs to us,” said Dercyllidas, “by right of conquest, for Pharnabazus is an enemy to us. And let somebody show me where the effects of Mania and Pharnabazus are lodged.” Some persons led him directly to the house of Mania, which Midias had appropriated to his own use, and Midias himself followed. So soon as he entered the house, Dercyllidas called for the upper servants, and, having ordered his own people to take them into custody,



he threatened them, that “ if they were caught  
“ secreting any thing that belonged to Mania,  
“ they should be instantly put to death:” but  
they made a clear discovery. When he had surveyed the whole, he made all fast, clapped on his own seal, and appointed a guard. As he was coming out of the house, he saw many of his officers at the door, and said to them—“ We have here a  
“ fine supply for the army ; near a year’s pay for  
“ eight thousand men ; and if we can earn any  
“ more in good time, it will be so much the better.” This he said purposely, concluding that all who heard him would observe discipline better, and would study more to oblige him. But Midias asking him now—“ And where am I to live, Dercyllidas ?” “ Just where you ought, he replied, “ in Scepsis, where you were born, and in the house “ you inherit from your father.”

Dercyllidas, having so far acted with success, and taken nine cities in eight days, consulted with himself, how he might avoid taking up his winter-quarters in a friendly country, lest he might be burthensome to the confederates as Thimbro had been, and yet so that Pharnabazus might be sufficiently awed from harrassing the Greek cities with his horse. He sends therefore to the latter, and asks him, Whether he chose to have war or peace ? Pharnabazus, reflecting that Æolia was now become a continued fortification against Phrygia, in which he himself resided, declared for a truce. And when the point was settled, Dercyllidas, marching into Bithynian-Thrace, passed the winter there ; at which Pharnabazus was very little,



## BOOK III.

if at all concerned, for these Bithynians were often making war upon him. In this country Dercyllidas spent his time, sending out parties who harassed all Bithynia, and furnished his quarters with necessaries in the most plentiful manner. And when about two hundred Odrysian horse and about three hundred targeteers were crossed over from Seuthes to join him, they formed a separate camp, which they fortified with a circular work, at the distance of<sup>c</sup> twenty stadia from the camp of the Grecians; and having begged Dercyllidas to send them some of his heavy-armed to guard their camp, they went out for plunder, and took many slaves and valuable effects. When their camp was at length quite crowded with prisoners, the Bithynians, who had gained intelligence, how many went out to plunder, and how many Grecians were left behind to guard their camp, having drawn together a vast body of targeteers and horsemen, about break of day rush upon the heavy-armed, who were about two hundred. At the first approach, some were throwing in their darts, others were tossing in their javelins amongst them. The defendants, who though amidst wounds and death, could yet do nothing for their own preservation, shut up as they were within a work as high as their own heads, tore down an opening in it, and sallied out against them. But their enemies retreated before them at every sally, and being but targeteers, slipped with ease out of the way of men in heavy armour. But they still

<sup>c</sup> About two miles.



were galling them on their flanks with javelins, and struck many of them to the ground at every sally. In short, pent up as it were in a fold, they were slain by darts and javelins. Not but that about fifteen of this number escaped in safety to the camp of the Grecians; but these had wheeled off in time, when they first perceived the enemy's design, and as, in the hurry of engaging, the Bithynians had not attended to their motions, effected their escape. The Bithynians, after so much success, and putting all the tent-keepers of the Odrysian-Thracians to the sword, marched quickly away, and carried off with them all the prisoners; so that the Grecians, who marched thither so soon as they had notice of the affair, found nothing at all in the camp but naked dead. The Odrysians, at their return, after interring their own dead, swallowing a great quantity of wine on the occasion, and solemnizing an horse-race, encamped themselves for the future along with the Grecians, and continued to lay Bithynia waste with fire and sword.

So soon as it was spring, Dercyllidas left Bithynia and arrives at Lampsacus. Whilst he was there, Aracus and Navates, and Antisthenes, arrive from the magistracy of Sparta. They were commissioned to inspect the state of affairs in Asia, and notify to Dercyllidas that he must continue in the command another year. They had, farther, been particularly enjoined by the Ephori to assemble all the soldiers and tell them in their name, that "they had justly been displeased at their behaviour in former years; but, as lately they had

Year before  
Christ 397.



## BOOK III.

“ been guilty of no misbehaviour, they com-  
“ mended them for it;” and, in regard to the time  
to come, to assure them, that “ if they behaved  
“ amiss, they should find no connivance in *them*;  
“ but, in case they behaved justly towards the  
“ confederates, *they* will give them all due com-  
“ mendation.” When, therefore, they called an  
assembly of the soldiers, and delivered their in-  
structions, <sup>d</sup> the commander of those who had  
served under Cyrus made the following answer:  
“ We, for our parts, Lacedæmonians, are the  
“ very same persons now that we were the preced-  
“ ing year; but the commander-in-chief is quite  
“ another person now than he who commanded  
“ then. You are capable yourselves to discern  
“ the reasons why we committed so many irre-  
“ gularities then, and commit none at all at  
“ present.”

At an entertainment that Dercyllidas gave in  
his own quarters to the commissioners from Sparta,  
some persons, who belonged to the retinue of  
Aracus, let fall the mention of an embassy now at  
Sparta from the Chersonesus. It was said, they  
were representing at Sparta, that “ they were not  
“ able to till the lands in the Chersonesus, where  
“ every thing was continually ravaged and plun-  
“ dered by the Thracians; but, in case a fortifica-  
“ tion was raised from sea to sea, they should  
“ possess, in security, a great quantity of good  
“ land, enough for themselves and for all Lace-  
“ dæmonians that would settle upon it.” It was

<sup>d</sup> Xenophon himself.



added, "they should not be surprised, if some Lacedæmonian was sent out by the state with a body of men to carry this work into execution." Dercyllidas, who listened to this discourse, discovered nothing at all of his present sentiments to the company, but sent away the commissioners, through the Grecian cities, to Ephesus<sup>e</sup>. He was delighted with the thought, that they would see those cities living happily in peace. The commissioners, accordingly, proceeded on their journey.

Dercyllidas, as he knew he was to continue another year in the command, sent once more to Pharnabazus, and demanded—"whether he was for a truce, as during the last winter, or for war?" And Pharnabazus preferring at this time, too, a continuation of the truce, Dercyllidas, leaving all the confederate cities that were near to Pharnabazus in peace, passeth over the Hellespont into Europe with his army. And then marching through the part of Thrace in friendship with him, where he was hospitably entertained by Seuthes, he arrives at the Chersonesus. Finding now, that it contained eleven or twelve cities, was the best and most fruitful country in the world, though sadly ravaged, as was said before, by the Thracians, he measured the isthmus, and found it to be thirty-seven stadia over. He lost no time, but, after a sacrifice, began to raise a fortification.

<sup>e</sup> The text is  $\alpha\pi'$  ΕΦΕΣΟΣ, but I translate it according to Dr. Taylor's reading,  $\epsilon\pi'$  ΕΦΕΣΟΣ.

<sup>f</sup> Near four miles.



## BOOK III.

He divided out the ground to the different parties of his army. He promised rewards to such as soonest completed the parts assigned them, and to all in proportion to their diligence. He began it in the spring, and before autumn he had completely finished the work. He enclosed within it eleven cities, many harbours, a large quantity of excellent ground for tillage, a large quantity too of plantations, and a vast number of the finest pastures for all sorts of cattle. And now, he again repassed into Asia.

Taking here a survey of the cities, he found all well, in every respect, except that the exiles from Chios had possessed themselves of Atarna, a strong town, and, by excursions from thence, were extending their ravages all over Ionia, and subsisting themselves by this practice. But, learning that they had a great store of corn, he invested the place, and besieged it in form. And having in eight months reduced it to a surrender, and appointed Draco, of Pellene, to take care of the place, and filled the magazines within it with all kind of stores, that it might supply him with every thing he wanted whenever he came to Atarna, he marched for Ephesus, which is three days' journey from Sardis.

Till this time there had been peace between Tissaphernes and Dercyllidas, and also between the Grecians of those parts and the Barbarians. But, when ambassadors from the Grecian cities had been at Lacedæmon, and had represented to the state, "that Tissaphernes, if he had a mind, " might leave all the cities quite free and inde-



“ pendent ;” adding, that “ in case a war was  
“ carried vigorously into Caria, where Tissa-  
“ phernes resided, they judged he might soon be  
“ prevailed upon to leave them all in perfect  
“ liberty ;” the Ephori, after listening to these  
representations, sent over to Dercyllidas, and  
ordered him to march with his army into Caria ;  
and Pharax, who commanded at sea, to attend the  
expedition with the fleet. They accordingly  
obeyed their orders.

But, just at this time, Pharnabazus was arrived  
on a visit to Tissaphernes, as well to compliment  
him on his being declared governor-in-chief over  
all, as to testify for himself, that he was ready to  
concur in a general war, to join his troops with  
Tissaphernes, and drive the Greeks out of their  
master’s dominions. But, at the bottom, he was  
sadly mortified at the pre-eminence given to  
Tissaphernes, and was also grieved at the loss of  
Æolia. Tissaphernes, after giving him the hearing,  
answered—“ In the first place, therefore, come  
“ along with me into Caria, and there we will  
“ afterwards consult together about these other  
“ points.” And when they were in Caria, they  
thought proper to place sufficient garrisons in  
all the fortified places, and then to proceed against  
Ionia.

When Dercyllidas had received intelligence  
that they had again passed the Mæander, he made  
known his fears to Pharax, lest Tissaphernes and  
Pharnabazus, finding no resistance in the country,  
might extend their devastations at pleasure ; and  
then he immediately repassed the Mæander. His



## BOOK III.

troops were advancing forwards without any regular order, as judging the enemy to be got already on the lands of the Ephesians<sup>g</sup>; when, on a sudden, they discover from the opposite shore some of their scouts<sup>h</sup> mounted on the tombs. Upon which, climbing up themselves on the tombs and some turrets that were near, they had a view of their army drawn up in order of battle on the very ground they were to march over. It consisted of the Carians distinguished by the name of Leucaspidae, of all the Persian troops they had been able to draw together, of the Grecian troops in the pay of both these chiefs, and a very numerous cavalry; those belonging to Tissaphernes being posted in the right wing, those belonging to Pharnabazus in the left. When Dercyllidas saw this, he issued out his orders to the officers of the heavy-armed to draw them up eight in depth, and to post the targeteers, and the horse as many and such as he had, upon the flanks; and then he offered sacrifice. All the troops from Peloponnesus observed, on this occasion, a deep silence, and prepared for battle. But, of the men from Priene and Achilleum, and the islands and the cities of Ionia, some ran instantly away, throwing their arms into the corn (for, in the plains of Mæander, the corn was very high), and such as were left showed plainly they would not stand. It was reported, that Pharnabazus declared strongly for fighting. Tissaphernes, however,

<sup>g</sup> The marginal reading, πολέμιων εἰς τὴν Εφεσίαν.

<sup>h</sup> For σκοπῆ read σκοπῆς.



who recalled to his remembrance in what manner the Greeks, under Cyrus, had fought against them, and judged that all Greeks were men of the same spirit and resolution, would not be persuaded to fight. But, sending to Dercyllidas, he notified to him, that “he desired to meet and have a conference with him.” Dercyllidas, taking with him such persons both of the horse and foot as made the finest appearance, advanced towards the messengers, and said—“I was ready here prepared for battle, as yourselves perceive. But, since your master is desirous of a conference, I have nothing to object. Yet, before the conference begins, we must receive and exchange securities and hostages.” This point being agreed to and executed, the armies drew off; the Barbarian army to Tralles of Phrygia, and the Grecian to Leucophrys, where was a temple of Diana, held in high veneration, and a lake, more than a stadium in length, of a sandy bottom, kept full by perpetual springs, its water fine for drinking, and warm. And these were the incidents of the present day.

On the day following they met at the place of conference; and it was agreed on each side, to propose the terms on which a peace should be made. Dercyllidas said, “it should be on condition the king would leave the Grecian cities entirely free.” Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus answered, “on condition the Grecian army evacuate the dominions of the king, and the commandants from Lacedæmon do the same by the cities.” On these conditions they made a truce,



BOOK III. till the treaty could be reported for ratification, by Dercyllidas at Lacedæmon, and by Tissaphernes to the king.

Year before  
Christ 401.  
The war against  
Elis.

Whilst Dercyllidas was thus employed in Asia, the Lacedæmonians, who had long been exasperated against the Eleans;—<sup>i</sup> because they had entered into an offensive and defensive league with the Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans; and because, on the pretext that themselves had not paid a fine set upon them, they had refused them a share in the equestrian and gymnastic games; and, not satisfied with this refusal, when Lichas had entered his chariot in the name of the Thebans, and they accordingly were proclaimed victors, because Lichas came forwards and crowned the charioteer, they scourged that venerable man, and expelled him the assembly; and later in time, when Agis had been sent, in pursuance of an oracle, to sacrifice to Jupiter, the Eleans would not suffer him to pray for a successful war, pretending it was an old established rule, that Grecians should not consult an oracle in relation to a war against their countrymen; on which account he was obliged to depart without sacrificing at all:—upon all these provocations, it was decreed by the Ephori and the council of state, “to reduce them to a more submissive temper.” They despatched therefore an embassy to Elis with the notification, that “the regency of Lacedæmon had judged it equitable, that the Eleans should leave all the cities adjacent to Elis in perfect liberty.”

<sup>i</sup> See Thucydides, Book V.



The Eleans answering, “ they would not do it, “ since they were masters of those cities by the “ right of war,” the Ephori proclaimed an expedition against them. BOOK III.

Agis, who commanded the army, marched through Achaia and entered Elea not far from Larissa. But, the army being now in the enemy’s country, and extending their devastations, an earthquake is felt. Agis, reckoning this an inhibition from heaven, retreated out of the country, and disbanded his army. After this the Eleans were in higher spirits than ever, and sent embassies round to every state, whom they knew to be disaffected to the Lacedæmonians. Agis commands.

But the year after, the Ephori again proclaim an expedition against Elis; and, excepting the Bœotians and Corinthians, all the confederates, nay, even the Athenians, attended with their troops in this army under Agis. As Agis entered now by the way of Aulon, the Lepreatæ revolted from the Eleans and immediately joined him. The Macystians soon did the same, and immediately after them the Epitalians. And, when he had passed the river, the Leprinians and Amphidolians, and Marganians, came over to him. After this, he went to Olympia, and sacrificed to Olympian Jove, no creature any longer endeavouring to stop him. After the sacrifice, he advanced towards Elis, putting all the country to fire and sword; nay, a vast number of cattle and a vast number of slaves were taken on this occasion. Very many of the Arcadians and Achæans, who had heard what was doing, flocked down to the army Year before Christ 400.  
He commands again.



## BOOK III.

as volunteers, and got a share of the plunder. And this expedition was, as it were, a general forage for the benefit of Peloponnesus. But, when Agis had reached the city, he destroyed the suburbs and the gymnasiums, which were very splendid; yet, as to the city itself (which was not fortified), the world judged, it was not in his choice, rather than not in his power, to take it.

A massacre and  
sedition in Elis.

The country being thus destroyed, and the army being now in the neighbourhood of Cyllene, one Xenias and his accomplices, who, according to the proverb, were measuring their wealth before they had it, being desirous of securing Elis for the Lacedæmonians, rushed out from his house by night with daggers, and began a massacre. Amidst the number of those they put to death, they had killed a person very much resembling Thrasydæus, who was head of the popular party, and were persuaded they had killed Thrasydæus himself, insomuch that the people were quite dispirited, and made no resistance at all. The assassins now judged that all was secure; and their whole party were coming out in arms to join them in the market-place. In the mean-time, Thrasydæus was still sleeping in the house where he had been spending the evening. So soon, therefore, as the people knew he was not dead, they came flocking in crowds about the house, like a swarm of bees around their monarch. And, when Thrasydæus had put himself at their head and marched them up, a battle ensued, in which the people were victorious. But those, who had been concerned



in the assassinations, made their escape to the Lacedæmonians. When Agis, in his retreat, had repassed the Alpheus, he left a garrison to be commanded by Lysippus, and the fugitives from Elis in Epitalium near the Alpheus; after which he disbanded the army, and returned to Sparta. But, during the rest of the summer and the ensuing winter, the territory of the Eleans was exposed to the continued ravage of Lysippus and his soldiers.

The summer after, Thrasydæus sent his agents to Lacedæmon, declaring his assent to a demolition of the fortifications and to setting at perfect liberty Cyllene and the cities of Triphylia, Phrixa, and Epitalium, and Leprine, the Amphidolians too, and the Marganians; adding to these the Acronians also, and Lasium, that was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans, however, insisted on still keeping Epeum, which is situated between the city of Heræa and Macisthus. They said, "they had purchased the whole district, at the price of thirty talents<sup>k</sup>, from the persons who, at the time of the sale, were possessed of the city, and had actually paid the money." But the Lacedæmonians, who knew the injustice was the same, between forcing people to sell, or forcing them to quit their property, obliged them also to set Epeum at liberty. However, they would not strip them of the privilege to be guardians of the temple of Olympian Jove, though it did not originally belong to the Eleans. They

Year before  
Christ 399.  
A peace.

<sup>k</sup> Five thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings.



## BOOK III.

judged the people<sup>l</sup>, who claimed it, to be only a company of peasants, and not at all qualified for so important a trust. These points being settled, a peace and a confederacy ensued between the Eleans and the Lacedæmonians. And thus the war between the Lacedæmonians and Eleans was brought to an end.

Death of Agis.

Agis, after this, repaired to Delphi, and offered up the tenth of the spoil. But, in his return, since he was far advanced in years, he fell sick at Heræa, and being with some difficulty brought home yet alive, died soon after at Sparta, and was buried in too pompous a manner for mortal man.

Agesilaus chosen king of Sparta.

When the usual time of mourning was expired, and his successor to be declared, two competitors appeared, Leotychides, who called himself the son, and Agesilaus, who was the brother of Agis. Leotychides said<sup>m</sup>: “The law, Agesilaus, expressly

<sup>l</sup> The Pisans.

<sup>m</sup> The text of Xenophon is, in the following dispute about the succession, very perplexed, and certainly corrupt. In the translation I have made use of three various readings in the margin of the Paris edition by Leunclavius, 1625. But there is no marginal reading to help us out in the close, where this knotty expression occurs, μη προσπλαιοσας τις χωλευση.... The learned Dr. Taylor hath favoured me with his sentiments upon it, to which I have paid a due regard in the translation. “The words (he says) may “possibly be mended by the help of Plutarch, who, in the *Life of* “*Lysander*, reciting this story, has μη προσπλαιοσας τις αρχη, and “in that of Agesilaus, μη προσπλαιοσας τις βασιλευση; one of which “words must be given here to Xenophon. For, as the text “stands, it is just as if he had said, μη χωλευων τις χωλευση. “Possibly χωλος may be added in the margin, to explain “προσπλαιοσας (as being a more unusual word), and so was reduced “to χωλευση, and jostled out the true word βασιλευση or αρχη.



“ enjoins, that not the brother, but the son, of  
 “ the king shall reign.” “ Yet, if there be no  
 “ son,” Agesilaus replied, “ the brother reigns;  
 “ the right, therefore, is in me.” “ What! is  
 “ there no son, and I alive?” “ None; because  
 “ he, whom you call your father, never owned  
 “ you for his son<sup>a</sup>.” “ But my mother, who  
 “ knows the truth much better than he, protests  
 “ that I am.” “ Yes; but then Neptune hath  
 “ clearly proved that it is all a fiction, who, by  
 “ an earthquake, drove your father abroad from  
 “ cohabiting with her; and time itself, which is  
 “ said to be the surest witness, joins evidence  
 “ with Neptune, since you were born the tenth  
 “ month after he separated from and had no  
 “ cohabitation with her.” In this manner they  
 disputed. But Diopithes, who was a great dealer  
 in oracles, supported the claim of Leotychides,  
 and affirmed there was an oracle of Apollo,  
 “ which bade them be on their guard against a  
 “ halting reign.” Lysander, who favoured Age-

“ Or it may be thus: there wants no verb at all in this place.

“ See how it runs, φυλαξασθαι μη προσπλαιοσας τις, αλλα μαλλον μη

“ εκ ων τε γενεας, βασιλευση.” Let us apply the words of Plutarch

to the whole passage; Ου γαρ ει προσπλαιοσας τις τον ποδα βασιλευση

τω θεω διαφερειν· αλλ’ ει μη γνησιος ων, μηδε Ηρακλειδης, τελο την χωλην

ειναι βασιλειαν. *Plutarch in Agesilaus.*

<sup>a</sup> He is said to have been the son of Alcibiades, who, during  
 his residence at Sparta, had an intrigue with Timæa. She was  
 excessively fond of this gallant Athenian, and within doors always  
 called this son Alcibiades. But Alcibiades was used to profess,  
 that he carried on the intrigue with Timæa, not from any lewd or  
 wanton motive, but only that his own posterity might reign at  
 Sparta. *Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.*



## BOOK III.

silaus, replied, "That he did not imagine it was  
 " the sense of the oracle to put them on their  
 " guard against a king who was lame of a foot;  
 " but rather, that no person should reign who  
 " was not of the royal blood. For the kingdom  
 " would halt to all intents and purposes, when  
 " men ruled the state who were not of the race of  
 " Hercules." The Spartans, having thus heard  
 the plea of both parties, chose Agesilaus for their  
 king.

A conspiracy  
 at Sparta.

Agesilaus had not reigned a year, when, during  
 his performance of a solemn sacrifice for the public  
 welfare, the soothsayer told him, that " the gods  
 " showed him a conspiracy of the most dangerous  
 " kind." Upon his repeating the sacrifice, he  
 affirmed, that " the victims showed worse than  
 " before." But, when he sacrificed a third time,  
 he said, " It is plainly signified to me, that we are,  
 " Agesilaus, in the midst of enemies." They  
 sacrificed afterwards to the gods who avert cala-  
 mities or were guardians of the state; and the  
 victims, after several repetitions, at length ap-  
 pearing favourable, they ceased. Within five days  
 after the sacrifices, somebody gives the Ephori  
 information of a conspiracy, and that " Cinadon  
 " was the chief director of it." This Cinadon was  
 a very handsome young man, of great solidity of  
 mind, but not in the first class of Spartans. The  
 Ephori questioned the informer, " on what grounds  
 " the plot was to be carried on?" He answered,  
 that " Cinadon, drawing him aside in the farthest  
 " part of the forum, bade him count the number  
 " of Spartans who were then walking upon it.



“ And I (said he) having counted the king, and  
“ the Ephori, and the seniors, and about forty  
“ others, demanded, But why, Cinadon, did you  
“ bid me count them? Reckon these (he replied)  
“ to be enemies, but all others now upon the  
“ forum, who amount, at least, to four thousand,  
“ to be assuredly friends.” He added, that “ as  
“ they went along the streets, Cinadon pointed  
“ sometimes at one, and sometimes at a couple of  
“ enemies, but all others were firm accomplices;  
“ and, on all the estates in the country belonging  
“ to Spartans, the master singly was an enemy,  
“ whilst all the people were their own.” The  
Ephori then demanded, “ What number of persons  
“ he told him were in the secret of the plot?”  
He answered, that “ Cinadon told him, the number  
“ yet let into the design by the principal agents  
“ was not large, but were men on whom they  
“ could depend. Yet all agreed that the Helots,  
“ the new enfranchised, those incapacitated by  
“ law from being magistrates, and the people in  
“ the neighbourhood of Sparta, were all ripe for a  
“ rebellion; since, whenever any discourse arose  
“ about the Spartans, not a soul amongst them  
“ could conceal the longing he had to eat them  
“ up alive.” They asked him next, “ By what  
“ methods they were to procure arms?” He  
answered, that “ such as were already in the secret  
“ had told him—We ourselves are already pro-  
“ vided;—and, in regard to the multitude, Cinadon  
“ had led him to the shops of the mechanics, and  
“ showed him many swords, many daggers, many



## BOOK III.

“ spits, many hatchets and axes, and many  
“ sithes; adding farther, on this occasion, that  
“ all the utensils which men employ in agriculture  
“ and the working of timber and stone, were so  
“ many weapons, and even the tools used in most  
“ trades would serve the purpose, especially against  
“ enemies who had no arms at all.” Being in-  
terrogated again, “ In what time they were to put  
“ the plot in execution?” he said, “ he had already  
“ received an order to keep in the way.”

The Ephori, having finished the examination, were persuaded he had discovered a deep-laid plot, and were terribly alarmed. Yet they summoned no meeting on this occasion even of the lesser council; but, assembling some of the senior Spartans just as they could pick them up, they determined to send Cinadon to Aulon, accompanied by a party of the younger Spartans, to arrest and bring away some inhabitants of that city and some Helots, whose names he would find in his scytale. They also ordered him to bring away with him a woman, who was reported to be the greatest beauty in the place, but was thought to debauch all the Lacedæmonians, as well old as young, who frequented Aulon. Cinadon had executed some such orders of the Ephori on former occasions, and readily took the scytale they gave him now, in which were the names of the persons he was to apprehend. But when he asked, “ What youths he  
“ was to take with him?” “ Go, they said, and  
“ order the senior of the prefects of youth to send  
“ six or seven of his band along with you, of



“such as happen to be at hand.” They had taken care beforehand, that this prefect should know whom he was to send, and that the persons sent should know they were to secure Cinadon. They told Cinadon further, “they would send three carriages, that they might not bring away their prisoners on foot;” concealing from him as much as possible, that they only aimed at his single person. They would not venture to apprehend him in the city, as they did not know how far the plot might have spread, and were desirous to learn first, from Cinadon himself, who were his accomplices, before they would discover that any information was given against them, in order to prevent their flight. The party along with him were first to secure him, and then getting out from him the names of his accomplices, to send them in writing in all haste to the Ephori. Nay, so intent were the Ephori on securing the point, that they also ordered a troop of horse to march with this party to Aulon.

But so soon as Cinadon was secured, and an horseman returned with the names that Cinadon had discovered, they instantly apprehended Tisamenus the soothsayer, and the most dangerous persons amongst the conspirators. And when Cinadon was brought to Sparta and examined, he confessed the particulars of the plot, and named all the persons concerned it. At last they asked him, “With what view he had engaged in such a project?” His reply was, “That I might be inferior to no man in Sparta.” Immediately after this he was tied neck and arms in the wooden



## BOOK III.



Agesilaus offers  
to go and com-  
mand in Asia.

collar<sup>o</sup>, and along with his accomplices was led round the city, being all the way scourged with rods and pricked with javelins. And thus they received the punishment inflicted by the laws<sup>p</sup>.

After these transactions, one Herod, a Syracusan, who was along with the master of a vessel in Phœnicia, and saw several Phœnician vessels arriving from other places, and more of them already manned where he was, and more still fitting out, and heard farther that they were to be completed to the number of three hundred;—this Herod took his passage on board the first vessel that sailed for Greece, and gave intelligence to the Lacedæmonians, that “the king and Tissaphernes were fitting out so great a fleet, but whither designed, he said, he had not discovered.” The Lacedæmonians were all in a flutter, and summoned a meeting of the confederates, to consult what was to be done. Lysander, who reckoned that the Grecians would be far superior at sea, and remembered the fine retreat of his countrymen, who had served in the expedition under Cyrus, persuades Agesilaus to engage, if they would assign him thirty noble Spartans, two thousand of such as were newly enfranchised, and a body of six thousand confederates, to carry the war into Asia. He had it farther in his intention to accompany Agesilaus in this expedition, that, under his protection, he might re-establish the forms of government consisting of ten persons, which himself had set up in the cities,

\* Κλοισι.

<sup>p</sup> Leunclavius's marginal reading, μεν δὲ τῆς δίκης...



and the Ephori had since abolished, who ordered them to return to their primitive models. Agesilaus having therefore offered to undertake the expedition, the Lacedæmonians, beside all the rest of his demands, granted him a six months' supply of corn. When he had performed his sacrifices, particularly the solemn ones usual before foreign expeditions, he set forwards. He had already, by messengers, circulated his orders to the confederate states, to what place they were to send their quotas, and in what number they were to be ready for him. For his own part, he intended to go and sacrifice at Aulis, as Agamemnon had done when he set out against Troy. When arrived at Aulis, the rulers of Bœotia, who heard he was sacrificing, sent thither a party of horse, who forbade his sacrificing any more, and threw off from the altar the victims he was offering at the time of their approach. Making loud appeals to Heaven, and full of indignation, he went on board his ship, and put to sea. And after reaching Gerastus, and collecting together as large a number as he could of the troops assigned him, he crossed the sea, at the head of the armament, to Ephesus.

On his arrival at Ephesus, he was soon accosted by messengers from Tissaphernes, who demanded, "What was his business in Asia?" He replied, "To set the Greek cities in Asia in as perfect liberty as our own cities enjoy in Greece." The answer of Tissaphernes to this was—"If, therefore, you will come into a truce, whilst I send up to the king, I think I shall get that point settled, so that you may go home again at pleasure."

BOOK III.  
  
 Year before  
 Christ 395.  
 His fine conduct there.



## BOOK III.

“ I would agree to a truce, said Agesilaus, was I  
“ not afraid that you will deceive me. But you  
“ shall have, he added, what security you please  
“ from us, that if you solicit the point without  
“ fraud, we will refrain during the truce from  
“ doing any damage to the country under your  
“ government.” This point being agreed to, Tissaphernes swore to Herippidas and Dercyllidas and Megialius, who were sent to him for this purpose, that “ without fraud he would procure a peace :” and they in return swore to Tissaphernes, in the name of Agesilaus, that “ whilst Tissaphernes was  
“ employed in this negociation, he would faithfully observe the truce.” Tissaphernes swore, indeed, but immediately broke his oath. For, instead of soliciting a peace, he sent to the king for a number of troops to reinforce the army he already had. But Agesilaus, though sensible of such behaviour, most steadily observed the truce.

Whilst Agesilaus was thus passing his time in a quiet and leisurely manner at Ephesus, there was high confusion in all the Greek cities of Asia, as the democracy, which had prevailed, when they were under the Athenians, no longer existed, nor the administration of ten persons, which had been the establishment of Lysander. But, as every body there was acquainted with Lysander, they applied themselves to him, requesting his interest with Agesilaus to get their favourite forms established. And hence it was, that a prodigious crowd of people was constantly attending upon and paying court to Lysander; so that, in short, Agesilaus seemed only a private person, and Lysander looked



like a king. What followed, showed, indeed, that these things chagrined Agesilaus. The rest of the thirty Spartans were so filled with envy, that they could not refrain from giving it vent. They told Agesilaus, that "Lysander's behaviour was quite unjustifiable, since he assumed a pomp even too high for a king." But as soon as Lysander began to introduce them to Agesilaus, he dismissed, with a flat refusal of their petitions, all such as he knew were strenuously supported by Lysander. And as things were now taking a quite different turn to what Lysander expected, he soon discovered the cause. And then he no longer suffered such a crowd of people to pay attendance upon himself, and ingenuously owned to such as begged his support, that they would succeed the worse, if he appeared in their favour. He took his disgrace to heart, and, going to Agesilaus, expostulated thus:—"Are you then, Agesilaus, become an artist at lessening your friends?"—"Upon honour I am, he replied, when they betray a design of appearing greater than myself. But I should blush indeed, if I was not as great a proficient in the art of honouring those, who endeavour to promote my honour."—"Why then I am convinced, said Lysander, that your conduct is much easier to be justified than my own. But, for the future, that I may avoid the disgrace of having no interest at all in you, and may be no obstacle to your personal glory, send me to some remote employ. For, wherever I go, I will spare no pains to serve you." He made this proposal, which Agesilaus approved, and sends him to Hel-



## BOOK III.

lespont. When there, Lysander having made a discovery, that Spithridates, the Persian, had suffered some oppressions from Pharnabazus, gets a conference with him, and persuades him to revolt with his children, with his wealth, and about two hundred horse. He placed the rest of his people and his effects in Cyzicus, but set out himself on the journey, and conducted Spithridates and his son to Agesilaus. Agesilaus, when he knew the whole affair, was highly pleased, and immediately began his inquiries about the country and government that belonged to Pharnabazus.

But when Tissaphernes, highly animated by the army that came down to his assistance from the king, declared war against him unless he evacuated Asia, the rest of the confederates, and even the Lacedæmonians who were there, betrayed great signs of dejection, as they judged the force at present with Agesilaus was by no means a match for that of the king. Agesilaus, however, with a countenance exceeding cheerful, ordered the ambassadors to acquaint Tissaphernes, that “he had high obligations to him, since, by perjuring himself, he had got the gods for his enemies, and had made them friends to the Greeks.” Immediately after this he issued out orders to his soldiers to get all things in readiness to take the field. He gave notice also to the cities, by which he must of necessity pass in the route towards Caria, to prepare their markets. He sent farther to the Ionians and Æolians and Hellespontines, to march up their quotas, that were to serve under him, to Ephesus. Tissaphernes, therefore, both because



Agesilaus had no horse, and Caria was not a country proper for them, and because he judged him exasperated personally against himself, for having deceived him, actually concluded that he would march into Caria, to ruin the place of his residence. He therefore sent away all his infantry into Caria, but led his horse round into the plains of Mæander, accounting himself able with his horse alone to trample the Grecians under foot before they could reach that part of the country in which cavalry could not act. But Agesilaus, instead of taking the route of Caria, took instantly one quite contrary, and marched for Phrygia. He reduced the cities on his march; and, by an incursion so entirely unexpected, he took an infinite quantity of most valuable spoil.

Hitherto he had seen no enemy at all. But when he drew near Dascylum, the horse in his van rode up to an eminence, that they might take a view of the country before them. It so happened that the horse of Pharnabazus, commanded by Rathines and Bancæus his bastard-brother, in number about equal to the Grecians, had been detached by Pharnabazus, and were riding up the same eminence that very moment. Thus getting a view of, and not distant from, one another above four plethra<sup>q</sup>, each side at first made a halt. The Grecian horse was drawn up four deep, like a body of foot; but the Barbarians had formed their ranks to no more than twelve men in front, but of a very great depth. After this halt, the Barbarians

<sup>q</sup> Four hundred feet.



## BOOK III.



advanced first to give the charge. When the engagement was begun, whatever Grecian struck an enemy, his spear broke off short with the blow: but the Persians, whose weapons were made of less brittle materials<sup>r</sup>, had soon slain twelve men and two horses; and soon after the Grecians were put to flight. Yet, as Agesilaus was advancing with the heavy-armed to their relief, the Barbarians retreated in their turn, and one of the noble Persians is slain.

After this engagement between the horse, when Agesilaus sacrificed next day for proceeding forwards, the victims were inauspicious. This plainly appearing, he turned off and marched down to the sea-coast. Being now convinced, that, unless he could procure a sufficient body of horse, he should never be able to march down into the plains, he resolved to procure them, that he might not be obliged to make war like a fugitive. He therefore drew up a list of the persons in all the adjacent cities who could best afford to keep horses. And having promised, that whoever contributed towards the cavalry either arms or an approved horseman, should be excused from personal service, he made them exert themselves with as much activity, as if each was seeking out a man to die in his own stead.

Year before  
Christ 394.

But afterwards, so soon as it was spring, he drew them all in a body to Ephesus. And here resolving to exercise his troops, he proposed rewards to the companies of heavy-armed whichever appeared

<sup>r</sup> Κρανεῖνα παλτά ἐχόντες.



in the finest condition, and to the squadrons of horse, which should perform their duty best. He also proposed rewards to the targeteers and archers, to such as should best behave in their respective duties. In consequence of this, one might have seen all the places of exercise crowded with persons at their exercise, and the riding-schools with horsemen practising the manage; the darters also, and archers, exercising their parts: in short, he made the whole city of Ephesus a fine spectacle indeed. For the market-place was filled with arms of all sorts, and horses for sale. The brasiers, and carpenters, and smiths, and curriers, and fur-bishers, were all busy in preparing the instruments of battle; insomuch, that you would actually have judged that city to be the workhouse of war. And it inspirited every spectator to see, beside all this, Agesilaus marching first, his soldiers following with garlands on their heads, when they came from their exercise, and went to offer up their garlands to Diana. For wherever men worship the gods, perfect themselves in martial exercise, and carefully practise obedience to their superiors, how is it possible that all things there should not be full of the warmest hope? But thinking further, that a contempt of the enemy might invigorate his men the more for battle, he ordered the criers to sell such Barbarians quite naked, as were taken by their plundering parties. The soldiers, therefore, seeing them with skins exceeding white, because they never had used themselves to strip; delicate also, and plump in body, because they always travelled upon wheels; imagined there was



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no difference between fighting against such men and fighting against women.

A whole year was now completely come round since Agesilaus sailed from Greece, so that the thirty Spartans in commission with Lysander departed for Sparta, and their successors with Herippidas were ready to succeed them. To Xenocles, one of the number, and to another person, Agesilaus gave the command of the horse; to Scythes, that of the heavy-armed who were newly enfranchised; to Herippidas, the command of those who had served under Cyrus; and to Migdon, the command of the troops belonging to the cities. And now he gave out, that he would immediately march them by the shortest route into the strongest parts of the country, that, from this consideration, they might best prepare their bodies, and resolution too, for action. Tissaphernes judged, indeed, that he gave this out merely from a desire to deceive him again, but now undoubtedly he would break into Caria. His infantry therefore, as before, he sent away into Caria, and posted his horse in the plain of Mæander. Agesilaus told no falsehood at all; but, exactly as he had given out, immediately marched for the province of Sardis; and for three days passing through a country quite clear of enemies, he got subsistence in abundance for all his troops. But on the fourth day the enemy's horse came in sight, and<sup>\*</sup> their commander ordered the officer who took care of the baggage, to pass the river Pactolus and

<sup>\*</sup> Marginal reading of the Paris edition, by Leunclavius.



encamp. And then, beholding the followers of the Greeks to be straggling about for plunder, they slew many of them. Agesilaus, perceiving this, ordered the horse to advance to their relief. On the other side, the Persians, when they saw the horse advancing, gathered close together, and drew up their whole numerous cavalry in order of battle. And here Agesilaus, knowing that the enemy had no foot at hand, whereas none of his own forces were absent, thought it a proper opportunity to engage, if possible. Having sacrificed, therefore, he immediately led the main body towards the horse, who were drawn up to face him; but he ordered some<sup>t</sup> heavy-armed Spartans of the first military class, to march up with the main-body; and bade the targeteers advance at the same time running; and then he sent orders to the horse, to charge the enemy, since himself and all the army were ready to support them. The Persians stood, indeed, the charge of his horse. But when at once every thing terrible was upon them, they were forced to give way; and some of them were immediately pushed into the river, whilst the rest fled outright. The Grecians pursue, and are masters of their camp. And now the targeteers, as it is likely they should, were gone off to plunder. But Agesilaus, enclosing friend and foe, encamped round about them in a circle. A vast quantity of booty was taken by him on this occasion, which he found to be in value above seventy

<sup>t</sup> Marginal reading of Leunclavius.



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Tissaphernes  
put to death.

talents". The camels also were taken at this time, which Agesilaus brought afterwards into Greece.

At the time this battle was fought, Tissaphernes happened to be at Sardis; for which reason he was accused by the Persians, as one who had betrayed them all to the enemy. But the king of Persia, conscious himself that the bad state of his affairs was owing entirely to Tissaphernes, sent Tithraustes down, and cuts off his head.

When Tithraustes had executed this order, he sends ambassadors to Agesilaus, who said—"The  
" author, Agesilaus, of the present war between  
" you and us, hath received his punishment. But  
" the king now insists, that you return back to  
" Greece, and that the cities in Asia, continuing to  
" govern themselves by their own laws, shall pay  
" to him the tribute they formerly paid." Agesilaus replied, that "he would settle nothing without instructions from the magistrates of Sparta." Tithraustes rejoined, "But, till you can know  
" their pleasure, quit these parts, and make war  
" upon Pharnabazus, since I myself have amply  
" avenged you on your enemy here." Agesilaus answered, "As I shall be some time on my march  
" thither, you must pay for the supply of my  
" army." Accordingly Tithraustes gives him thirty talents<sup>u</sup>; on receipt of which he proceeded towards Phrygia of Pharnabazus.

<sup>u</sup> Thirteen thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds ten shillings.

<sup>x</sup> Five thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings.



Being now on his march, and in the plain beyond Cyme, an express from the magistrates of Sparta comes to him with an order, “to take the fleet under his own command, and to appoint whom he pleased to be admiral of it.” The Lacedæmonians acted thus from these considerations, that, if he was commander of both, the land-army would act more firmly, because of the union with the fleet, and the fleet would act more firmly by the sight of the land-army, ready to support them whenever it was needful. When Agesilaus had received this authority, he immediately circulated orders to the cities, in the islands and on the sea-coast, to build triremes, the number to be left to the discretion of each city. Accordingly, about one hundred and twenty new ones were built, partly at the public determination of those cities, and partly by the zeal of private persons, who studied to oblige him. He then appointed Pisander, his wife’s brother, to be admiral, a man desirous to signalize himself, and of great natural abilities, but of small experience in naval matters. Pisander accordingly departed to take care of the fleet, whilst Agesilaus, continuing his first design, proceeded in his march against Phrygia.

In the mean-time, Tithraustes, who judged it plain, that Agesilaus had a real contempt for the power of his master, and had no manner of intention to go out of Asia, but, on the contrary, entertained high hopes of demolishing the king;—Tithraustes, I say, after balancing about the measures he should take, sends into Greece, Timocrates the Rhodian. He furnished him with gold to the value

The scheme to get Agesilaus recalled.



## BOOK III.



of fifty talents<sup>y</sup>, and instructed him to distribute the money amongst the leading men, in the several states, after procuring from them the strongest engagements, that they would make war upon the Lacedæmonians. Timocrates, when arrived, distributes his gold—at Thebes, to Androclides, and Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth, to Timolaus and Polyanthes; at Argos, to Cyclon and his faction. The Athenians, even without getting any share of the money, were ready for a war, and judged they ought to be principals in it. The persons who had received their shares, began the outcry against the Lacedæmonians in their own several communities. When they had once raised in these an hatred against the Lacedæmonians, they next drew the principal states of Greece into their scheme. But the leading men at Thebes being well assured, that unless somebody began the rupture, the Lacedæmonians would never break the peace with their allies, persuade the Locrians of Opus to levy contributions on a certain district, about which there was a controversy between them and the Phocians, judging that, upon this provocation, the Phocians would break into Locris. They were not deceived; for the Phocians breaking immediately into Locris, carried off a booty of many times the value. Androclides, therefore, and his party, soon persuaded the Thebans to assist the Locrians, since the Phocians had actually levied war, not upon a district that was

<sup>y</sup> Nine thousand six hundred and eighty-three pounds ten shillings.



in dispute, but on Locris itself, that was confess- BOOK III.  
edly in friendship and alliance with them. And  
when the Thebans, by way of retaliation, had  
broke into Phocis, and laid the country waste, the  
Phocians send ambassadors in all haste to Lace-  
dæmon, and demanded assistance, representing  
that “they had not begun the war, but had acted  
“against the Locrians in self-defence.” The Lace-  
dæmonians caught with pleasure at this pretext  
to make war upon the Thebans, having long been  
irritated against them, for their detention, at De-  
cela, of the tenth due to Apollo, and for their  
refusal to march with them against the Piræus.  
They accused them farther of persuading the Co-  
rinthians too, not to accompany them on that oc-  
casion. They also recalled to remembrance, how  
they would not permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at  
Aulis, and threw the victims actually sacrificed  
from off the altar, and that none of them were  
serving at this time under Agesilaus in Asia.  
They judged the present, therefore, a fine opportu-  
nity to march an army against them, and put a  
stop to their insolent behaviour;—for matters  
went well in Asia, under the command of Agesi-  
laus, and they had no war at present upon their  
hands in Greece. These being the general senti-  
ments of the Lacedæmonians, the Ephori pro-  
claimed a foreign expedition. But first they sent  
Lysander to the Phocians, and ordered him to  
conduct the Phocians with all their strength, and  
the Ceteans, and the Heracleots, and the Melien-  
sians, and Ænianians, to Haliartus. Pausanias,  
who was to command the army, agreed to be there



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on a certain day, with the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the Peloponnesian confederates. Lysander truly obeyed all his orders; and, what is more, procured the revolt of the Orchomenians from the Thebans. But Pausanias, after completing the solemn sacrifices, lingered for a time at Tegea, sending out the persons who were to command the confederate quotas, and waiting the coming up of the troops from the neighbouring cities.

When now it was clear to the Thebans, that the Lacedæmonians would soon march into their country, they sent ambassadors to Athens, who spoke as follows:

Speech of the  
Theban  
ambassadors at  
Athens.

“ Ye have, Athenians, complaints against us,  
“ as men who made proposals to ruin you, in  
“ the close of the late war: but ye have no man-  
“ ner of reason for such complaints. These pro-  
“ posals were not issued by the people of Thebes;  
“ they were merely the declaration of one single  
“ Theban, who assisted then at the consultations  
“ of the confederates. But when the Lacedæmo-  
“ nians solicited us to march with them against  
“ the Piræus, the whole state unanimously joined  
“ in a refusal. It is principally, therefore, on your  
“ account that the Lacedæmonians now are exas-  
“ perated against us; and it is natural for us to  
“ esteem it incumbent upon you to assist our state  
“ against them.

“ Nay, we have much stronger reasons for  
“ insisting, that so many of you as were of the  
“ party in the city, should march cheerfully now  
“ against the Lacedæmonians. For, after setting  
“ up an oligarchy here, and throwing you into



“ enmity with the people, hither they marched  
“ with a numerous force, pretending themselves  
“ your confederates, and then delivered you up to  
“ the people. So far as Lacedæmonians could do  
“ it, you were utterly undone: it was your own  
“ people here assembled, that saved you.

“ We know moreover, Athenians, we know it  
“ well, how desirous you are, again to recover  
“ that empire of which you were formerly pos-  
“ sessed. And what more probable method to  
“ accomplish this desire, than in person to succour  
“ those whom your enemies oppress? Those ene-  
“ mies, it is true, give law to numerous states.  
“ But suffer not yourselves to be awed by this  
“ consideration, which rather abounds in motives  
“ to courage and resolution. Your own recollec-  
“ tion will inform you, that the number of your  
“ enemies was always the greatest when your  
“ rule was most enlarged. So long, indeed, as no  
“ favourable opportunities offered for revolt, people  
“ concealed the enmity they bore you; but no  
“ sooner had the Lacedæmonians set up for lead-  
“ ers, than they openly showed what they thought  
“ of you. And at present, would but we Thebans,  
“ and you Athenians, appear together in arms  
“ against the Lacedæmonians, be assured, that  
“ many who hate them, will openly declare it.

“ Reflect within yourselves, and you will con-  
“ fess the truth of what we are alleging.—What  
“ people in Greece continues at present well  
“ affected to them? Have not the Argives been,  
“ from time immemorial, their irreconcilable foes?  
“ Even the Eleans, deprived by them, as they



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“ have been, of a large territory, and its cities,  
“ are added to the number of their enemies. And  
“ why should we mention the Corinthians, and  
“ Arcadians, and Achæans? who, so long as the  
“ war was carrying on against you, were earnestly  
“ solicited by them, and were admitted to a share  
“ of every hardship, of every danger, and of every  
“ expense; and yet, when the Lacedæmonians  
“ had carried all their points, in what dominion,  
“ what honour, what wealth, were they suffered  
“ to partake? Nay, so haughty are they grown,  
“ that they send out their very slaves to be gover-  
“ nors over their friends; and, in the height of  
“ their good fortune, have declared themselves  
“ lords over their free confederates. Nay, far-  
“ ther, it is manifest to all, how grossly they have  
“ deluded those very people whom they seduced  
“ to revolt from you, since, instead of giving them  
“ liberty, they have doubled their portion of sla-  
“ very upon them. For they are tyrannized over  
“ by the governors whom these Lacedæmonians  
“ send them, and by the committees of ten, which  
“ Lysander hath established in every city. Nay,  
“ even the monarch of Asia, who principally  
“ enabled them to get the better over you—what  
“ better treatment doth he now receive, than if he  
“ had joined with you to war them down?

“ Is it not, therefore, quite reasonable to ima-  
“ gine, that would you but set yourselves at the  
“ head of those who are so manifestly aggrieved,  
“ you may again become a much greater people  
“ than ever you were in former times? For,  
“ during the former interval of your power, the



“ sea was the only element in which you displayed  
“ it. But now you will be leaders of all, of us,  
“ of the Peloponnesians too, and of those who  
“ were subjected to you before, and of the king  
“ himself, possessed of the amplest share of power.  
“ In regard to us, you yourselves well know how  
“ very valuable confederates we proved to them.  
“ But now, we want no motive to join you with  
“ higher alacrity and more effectual strength than  
“ we then joined the Lacedæmonians. For we  
“ shall unite our aid, on this occasion, not in  
“ behalf of the inhabitants of the isles or the  
“ inhabitants of Syracuse, not in behalf of remote  
“ people, as we did at that time, but in behalf of  
“ our ourselves, so grievously injured as we have  
“ been.

“ There is one truth more, of which you ought  
“ to rest well assured, that the ravenous appetite  
“ after power in the Lacedæmonians may much  
“ easier be demolished than the power you once  
“ enjoyed. You then were a maritime power,  
“ and could awe the most reluctant states. The  
“ Lacedæmonians, though a mere handful of men,  
“ are greedily assuming power over people many  
“ times more numerous than, and in arms not  
“ one jot inferior to, themselves.

“ These considerations, therefore, we lay before  
“ you: and rest perfectly convinced, Athenians,  
“ that it is our firm persuasion, we are inviting  
“ you now to do greater services to Athens than  
“ to Thebes.”

With these words the Theban ambassador put  
an end to his discourse.



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A very large number of Athenians spoke afterwards in their favour, and it was unanimously decreed to aid the Thebans. Thrasybulus presented the decree, by way of answer, in which it was expressly recited, that “ though the Piræus “ was not yet restored to a state of defence, they “ would however run all hazards to return greater “ services than they had themselves received.— “ You, Thebans, he then added, did not join your “ arms against us ; but we, Athenians, will fight “ along with you against the Lacedæmonians, in “ case they invade you.” The Thebans therefore departing, got ready all the means of their defence, and the Athenians were making preparations for their succour.

A war in  
Greece, in which  
Pausanias com-  
mands.

The Lacedæmonians lost no more time, for Pausanias their king marched into Bœotia at the head of the troops of Sparta and the troops of Peloponnesus : the Corinthians were the only people who did not attend. Lysander, however, at the head of the troops from Phocis and Orchomenus and the adjacent cities, had arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. And, when arrived, he could not bear to wait inactively till the Lacedæmonian army came up, but, with the force he already had, he marched up to the walls of the Haliartians. At first he persuaded them to revolt from the Thebans, and declare themselves free and independent ; but, when some of the Thebans, who were within the walls, hindered them from making any such declaration, he made an assault upon the wall. The Thebans, hearing this, set forward, heavy-armed and horse, with all speed to



its succour. How the fact really was, whether they suddenly fell upon Lysander, or whether, aware of their approach, he slighted them from a confidence of victory, is still uncertain. Thus much only is clear, that a battle was fought under the walls, and a trophy was erected at the gates of Haliartus. And no sooner was Lysander slain, than his troops fled away to the mountain, and the Thebans followed resolutely in pursuit. The pursuers were now on the ascent of the mountain, and had pushed forwards into the strait and narrow pass, when the heavy-armed faced suddenly about, and poured their javelins with good effect upon them. When two or three of the foremost were dropped, they rolled down great stones along the declivity upon the rest, and kept plying at them with great alacrity, so that the Thebans are driven quite down the hill, and more than two hundred of them perish. This day, therefore, the Thebans were dispirited, reckoning they had suffered as much as they had made the enemy suffer before. However, on the morrow, when they heard the Phocians had marched off in the night and the rest of the confederates were departed to their several homes, they conceived a much higher opinion of their late success. But, when again Pausanias appeared in sight at the head of the Lacedæmonian army, they thought themselves once more in very imminent danger, and it was said there was a deep silence and much dejection among the troops. Yet when, upon the arrival of the Athenians the day after, and their junction with them, Pausanias came no nearer

Lysander killed.



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and no battle ensued, the Thebans began to be much higher in spirits than ever. Pausanias, it is true, had called a council of his general officers and captains, and demanded their opinions, “Whether he should give the enemy battle, or fetch off Lysander, and those who were killed with him, under truce.” For Pausanias and the other Lacedæmonians who were in authority reasoned with themselves, that Lysander was actually slain, that the army under his command was defeated and dispersed, that the Corinthians had flatly refused to join them, and the troops now in the army served plainly against their inclinations: the cavalry also were taken into their account; that of the enemy was numerous; their own was very small: the dead, moreover, were lying under the walls of Haliartus; so that, should they get a victory, they could not easily fetch them off because of the defendants upon the turrets. Upon all these considerations, they judged it most advisable to demand a truce for fetching off their dead. The Thebans answered, that “they would not restore the dead, unless the enemy evacuated the country.” They received this condition with pleasure, and, fetching off their dead, marched out of Bœotia. But, after such things had passed, the Lacedæmonians march away with minds sadly dejected, and the Thebans with all the marks of insolence. If any of the enemy straggled the least into the enclosures, they drove them again, with blows, into the high road.

Pausanias flies  
from Sparta.

In this manner the expedition of the Lacedæmonians was brought to a conclusion. Pausanias,



however, upon his return to Sparta, was summoned to a trial for his life. He was accused in form, for not marching up to Haliartus so soon as Lysander, though they had jointly agreed on a day for their junction; for demanding a truce to fetch off the dead when he ought to have endeavoured to recover them by a battle; and for letting the people of Athens escape him formerly when he had got them fast in the Piræus. Upon the whole, as he did not appear at his trial, he was condemned to die. He fled, indeed, to Tegea, and died there of sickness.

These things were done in Greece.

BOOK III.

BOOK IV.

Proceedings of  
Agellus in  
Asia.



## HISTORY

OF

## THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

## BOOK IV.

Farther Proceedings of Agesilaus in Asia, till he is recalled to assist his Country.—The Sea-fight of Cnidus.—The great Battle of Coronea gained by Agesilaus.—The Massacre of Corinth, and the War between the Argives and Corinthians; the Exploits of Agesilaus in behalf of the latter.—Conon rebuilds the Walls of Athens.—War in Hellespont.—Thrasybulus killed.—Total Defeat of Anaxibius by Iphicrates.

## BOOK IV.

Proceedings of  
Agesilaus in  
Asia.

AGESILAUS, who about autumn reached the Phrygia of Pharnabazus, put the country to fire and sword, and possessed himself of the cities either by siege or voluntary surrender. But Spithridates telling him, that “if he would go “along with him into Paphlagonia, he would “persuade the king of the Paphlagonians to a “conference with him and make him his con- “federate,” he readily went with him, having long been desirous to procure the revolt of this



nation from the king. And, when he was arrived in Paphlagonia, Cotys came to him and agreed to a confederacy; for he had already refused to obey a summons sent him by the king. And, at the persuasion of Spithridates, he left with Agesilaus a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers.

Agesilaus, esteeming himself highly obliged to Spithridates for this good service, said to him, "Tell me, Spithridates, would not you give your daughter to Cotys?" "With much more pleasure, he replied, than Cotys would receive her from me, an exile as I am, whilst he is a mighty king and of large dominions." This was all that was said at that time about the match. But, when Cotys was about departing, he waited upon Agesilaus to take his leave. The thirty Spartans were present; Spithridates had purposely been sent out of the way; when Agesilaus began thus to open the affair: "Tell me, Cotys, (said he), is Spithridates a man of noble birth?" He replied, "No Persian is more nobly born." "You have seen his son, (said he), who is a very handsome youth?" "Beyond all doubt he is; I supped last night in his company." "They tell me he hath a daughter, who is much handsomer." "Oh heaven! (replied Cotys), she is a beauty indeed!" "Cotys, (said he), you are now my friend; I regard you as such, and must advise you to marry this lady. She is exceedingly beautiful, than which what can be sweeter to a man? She is the daughter of a man of the highest nobility, and so extensive a power, that,



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“ in return to the wrongs Pharnabazus hath done  
“ him, he hath taken such ample revenge, as to  
“ force him to be a fugitive from all his dominions,  
“ as yourself can witness. And rest convinced,  
“ that as he knows how to avenge himself upon  
“ an enemy, so he knows as well how to serve his  
“ friend. And, be farther assured, that if this  
“ match be completed, you not only gain a re-  
“ lation in Spithridates, but in me also and all  
“ the Lacedæmonians, and consequently (as we  
“ are the head of Greece) in all Greece itself.  
“ Nay, in case you comply, what man can ever  
“ marry with so much pomp as yourself? What  
“ bride can ever be conducted home with so  
“ many horsemen, so many targeteers, and so  
“ many heavy-armed, as shall conduct yours home  
“ to you?” Here Cotys demanded, Whether he  
made this proposal with the privity of Spithridates?  
“ I call the gods to witness (said he) that he gave  
“ me no orders to mention it to you. But I can  
“ say for myself, that though I rejoice above  
“ measure when I punish an enemy, yet methinks  
“ I receive much more abundant pleasure, when I  
“ find out any good for my friends.” “ Why,  
“ therefore, (replied Cotys), did you not ask him,  
“ whether he approves the match?” “ Go you  
“ there, Herippidas, (said Agesilaus), and persuade  
“ him to give us his consent.” Herippidas and  
his colleagues rose up, and went on their com-  
mission. But, as their stay was long, “ Are you  
“ willing, Cotys, (said Agesilaus), that we send  
“ for him ourselves?” He replied, “ With all my  
“ heart; for I am convinced you have more in-



“fluence over him than all the rest of mankind.” BOOK IV.

And, upon this, Agesilaus sent for Spithridates and the others. On their approach, Herippidas said, “What need, Agesilaus, to repeat to you all that hath passed between us? For, in short, Spithridates says he will consent, with pleasure, to whatever you please to propose.” “It is, therefore, my pleasure (said Agesilaus), that you, Spithridates, give your daughter to Cotys, and that you, Cotys, accept her, and heaven bless the match! We cannot, indeed, before spring, bring the lady home by land.” Cotys cried out, “But by heaven, Agesilaus, if you are willing, she may be sent immediately by sea.” And now, having given their hands to one another to ratify the contract, they dismissed Cotys. Agesilaus, as he knew his eagerness, without loss of time commanded a trireme to be manned, and ordered Callias, the Lacedæmonian, to carry the lady to him.

In the mean-time he marched himself to Dascylium, where was the palace of Pharnabazus, surrounded with a number of villages, all of them large, and abundantly stored with the necessaries of life. There was excellent hunting, both in the parks that were paled about and in the open fields. A river, full of all sorts of fish, flowed round the whole spot of ground; and birds were every where to be found for those who could fowl. It was here that Agesilaus passed the winter, having supplies at hand for his army, or fetching them in by his foraging parties. But, as once the soldiers were fetching in necessaries in a



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very careless and unguarded manner, since hitherto they had met with no interruption, Pharnabazus, who had with him two chariots armed with sithes, and about four hundred horse, fell suddenly amongst them as they were dispersed about the plains. The Grecians, when they saw him riding up, ran together in a body to the number of seven hundred. He lost no time, but setting his chariots in the front, and posting himself behind with his horse, ordered them to drive full upon the enemy. No sooner was that body broken by the fury of the chariots, than his horsemen instantly demolished about one hundred of the Greeks. The rest fled away to Agesilaus, for he was near at hand with the heavy-armed.

The third or fourth day after this, Spithridates discovers that Pharnabazus was encamped at Cauë, a large village about an <sup>a</sup> hundred and sixty stadia off, and sends this intelligence immediately to Herippidas. Herippidas, always eager to distinguish himself by some grand exploit, requests of Agesilaus two thousand horse, an equal number of targeteers, the horsemen farther belonging to Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, and so many of the Greeks as he could persuade to go with him. Agesilaus having complied with his request, he began his sacrifices; and the victims appearing favourable in the evening, he sacrificed no more. He then issued his orders for the troops to be ready after supper in the front of the camp. It was now dark, and half the number were not

<sup>a</sup> About sixteen miles.



come out ; but reflecting, that if he gave up the affair, the rest of the thirty would sadly ridicule him, he marched away with what force he had got. And falling in by break of day upon the camp of Pharnabazus, many of the Mysians, who were then upon the guard, were slain ; the enemy took to their heels, the camp is taken, with a great quantity of plate and the whole field equipage of Pharnabazus, with the addition of all the baggage and the carriages, with the beasts that drew them. For, as Pharnabazus was in constant fear of staying too long in a place, lest he should be surrounded and blocked up ; Scythian like, he was for ever changing his ground, and most cautiously concealing his encampments. But, when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates brought in the booty they had taken, Herippidas, who had posted his officers for the purpose, took every thing away from Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, in order to enlarge the booty he himself should deliver in to the commissioners of sale. Treated in this manner, they could not brook it ; but, as men who had been injured and disgraced, they packed up their baggage and went off by night to Sardis, to offer their service to Ariæus, confident of a good reception from him, as he too had revolted from, and was making war upon, the king. Agesilaus took nothing to heart, during this expedition, so much as this desertion of Spithridates, and Megabyzus, and the Paphlagonians.

But there was one Apollophanes, of Cyzicus, who had an hospitable connexion of long standing with Pharnabazus, and at this time had the same

A remarkable conference.



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connexion with Agesilaus. This man, therefore, told Agesilaus, that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him about a peace. And when Agesilaus, listening to him, pledged his right hand and granted a truce, he soon brought Pharnabazus to the place agreed on. Agesilaus truly, and his thirty Spartans, were lying down upon the grass, and waiting for him. At length Pharnabazus appeared, dressed up in a most sumptuous attire. His servants spread the carpets, on which the Persians seat themselves softly down, before Pharnabazus, who, seeing the mean figure that Agesilaus made, became ashamed to indulge himself in his usual manner; in his finery, therefore, he threw himself down on the bare ground. In the first place, they gave one another a short verbal greeting. Pharnabazus then offering his right hand, Agesilaus, in return, held out his own. This done, Pharnabazus thus began the conference, for he was the elder man.

“ To you, Agesilaus, and to all ye Lacedæ-  
“ monians here present, I address myself. I was  
“ a firm friend and confederate to you, when you  
“ warred with the Athenians. I furnished you  
“ with money, and, at sea, I strengthened your  
“ fleet. But, by land, I fought on horseback in  
“ company with you, and drove your enemies  
“ into the sea. And no one person amongst you  
“ can upbraid me with ever acting a double part  
“ with you, as Tissaphernes did, either in word  
“ or deed. Such I have been towards you; and  
“ such treatment, in return, I have received from  
“ you, that in all my dominions, at present, I



" cannot get one meal's meat, unless, like a dog,  
" I pick up the scraps you have left behind you.  
" As to all the fine houses and the parks well  
" stocked with cattle and with timber that my  
" father left me, and which formerly rejoiced my  
" heart, I see them all destroyed by fire and  
" sword. I cannot think these proceedings to  
" be either just or pious; but I beg to learn from  
" you, whether such should be the actions of  
" men who know how to be grateful?"

In this manner Pharnabazus spoke. The thirty Spartans, to a man, were quite out of countenance, and kept a dead silence. But, after some pause, Agesilaus replied as follows:

" I imagine, Pharnabazus, you cannot be ig-  
" norant, that, in the cities of Greece, it is usual  
" for men to connect themselves together by the  
" ties of hospitality. But yet those very persons,  
" when the states, of which they are members,  
" are at war, adhere to their own country, and  
" make war on their hospitable friends; nay,  
" sometimes it happens, that in the field they kill  
" one another. In like manner, we are now at  
" war with your king, and are obliged to execute  
" all hostilities against whatever belongs to him.  
" In regard to yourself, there is nothing we so  
" much desire as to have you for our friend; but  
" even I, myself, would scorn to advise you to  
" make a bare exchange, and merely to take us  
" for your masters instead of the king. But you  
" have it in your power, by joining with us, to  
" live henceforth in ample enjoyment of all that  
" belongs to you, without adoring a fellow-



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“ creature, or acknowledging any master at all.  
“ For my own part, I reckon freedom to be of  
“ greater value than all the riches in the world.  
“ And yet I am far from inviting you to be free  
“ and at the same time poor; but, by accepting  
“ our service as confederates, to enlarge for the  
“ future, not the dominions of the king, but your  
“ own, and oblige those who are now your fellow-  
“ slaves to be subjects to yourself. And, if at  
“ one and the same time you become both free  
“ and rich, what more will you need to make you  
“ completely happy?”

“ I shall therefore tell you frankly,” said Pharnabazus, “ what it is I intend to do.”

“ Spoken like a man of honour.”

“ It is my full resolution,” Pharnabazus went on, “ in case the king sends another person to  
“ take my place and lord it over me, to be a  
“ friend and ally to you. But then, in case he  
“ continues me in the command, I shall, by the  
“ laws of honour, be bound, and am determined,  
“ I declare it before you all, to make war upon  
“ you to the utmost of my power.”

Agesilaus, hearing this, caught him by the hand, and said:

“ I wish most generous of men, that you were  
“ a friend to us. But of one thing you may rest  
“ assured, I will march out of your country as  
“ fast as I can; and, for the time to come, so long  
“ as the war continues, whilst we have another  
“ person to attack, we will give no molestation  
“ to thee or thine.”

These words being spoken, they ended the



conference; and Pharnabazus, mounting on horse-back, rode away. But his son by Parapite, a handsome youth, lingered behind, and running up to him, cried out—"O Agesilaus! I take thee for my hospitable friend." "I accept you as such," he replied. "Remember me, therefore," said the youth, and immediately gave the javelin in his hand, a very fine one it was, to Agesilaus. He received it, and taking off the trappings from the horse of Idæus the painter, he gave him them in return. The youth, now leaping upon his horse, rode after his father. And afterwards, when, during the absence of Pharnabazus, another brother took away his provinces from this son by Parapite, and drove him into exile, Agesilaus showed him all possible kindness; and, particularly, exerted himself so much in the favour of an Athenian, the son of Evalces, who was loved by this youth, that he got him admittance into the stadium at Olympia, though he was too tall for the rest of the lads.

Agesilaus, however, pursuant to his promise, marched immediately out of the territory of Pharnabazus, and the spring, by this time, was drawing on. But, when he was arrived in the plains of Thebe, he encamped near the temple of Astyrinian Diana, and there collected from all quarters a very large reinforcement to his army. He was preparing now to penetrate as far as possible into the country, judging, that whatever nations he should leave behind him, would all, without exception, revolt from the king. Such, at this time, were the employments of Agesilaus.



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Agésilas is recalled.

But the Lacedæmonians, when once convinced that money was come over into Greece, and that the greatest states were caballing together for war, thought themselves in imminent danger, and judged it necessary to take the field. Accordingly they set about their preparations, and, without loss of time, despatch Epicydides to Agésilas. He, on his arrival, reported to him the present situation of Greece, and that “the state commands him, with his utmost speed, to succour his country.” Agésilas, when he heard this, was sadly chagrined, recollecting of what honours and what hopes he was going to be deprived<sup>b</sup>! Calling, however, the confederates together, he communicated to them the orders he had received from Sparta, and told them “he was indispensably obliged to succour his country. If affairs turn out well at home, you may depend upon it, my friends and confederates, I will not forget you, but will be here again amongst you, to accomplish all your wishes.” At hearing him talk thus, many tears were shed; and it was unanimously resolved, “to accompany Agésilas to the

<sup>b</sup> According to Plutarch, he immediately wrote to the Ephori as followeth: “Agésilas to the Ephori greeting. We have subdued a large part of Asia, have driven the Barbarians before us, and have taken a great quantity of arms in Ionia. But, since you order my return by a day prefixed, I follow this letter, and shall almost arrive before it. For I am in this command, not for myself, but for my country and allies. And then a commander commandeth in the rightful manner, when he is submissive to the laws and the Ephori, or whatever magistrates are supreme in his country.” Plutarch’s *Laconic Apophthegms*.



“aid of Sparta, and, if affairs turned out well in BOOK IV.

“Greece, to reconduct him back into Asia.” 

And, in fact, they were getting all things in readiness to bear him company.

Agesilaus left Euxenus behind to command in Asia, and assigned him no less than four thousand men for garrisons, that he might be enabled to keep the cities fast in their obedience. But, observing that the soldiers were much more inclined to stay where they were than to march against Grecians, and yet willing to take as many as possible, and the best of them too, along with him, he proposed to give prizes to the city which sent in the choicest body of men, to the commanders of hired troops who attended the expedition with their party most completely armed, the same in regard to the heavy-armed and the archers, and the targeteers. He also declared to the commanders of horse, that he would give prizes to such of them as brought in their squadron best mounted and best accoutred. He said the decision should be made in the Chersonesus, so soon as they had passed over from Asia into Europe, that all of them might be well convinced, that they who served in this expedition must needs undergo a very accurate review. The prizes were chiefly arms of the most beautiful make, as well for heavy-armed as horsemen. There were also crowns of gold. The value of them, upon the whole, amounted to not less than four talents<sup>c</sup>. By submitting, in truth, to such an expense, arms

<sup>c</sup> Seven hundred and seventy-five pounds.



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of the greatest value were provided for this expedition. And, so soon as he had crossed the Hellespont, the judges were appointed; of the Lacedæmonians, Menascus and Herippidas, and Orsippus; of the confederates, one of every city. And Agesilaus, after he had finished the distribution of the prizes, began his march, and took the same road as Xerxes took formerly when he invaded Greece.

War in Greece.

In the mean-time the Ephori proclaimed a foreign expedition; and, as Agesipolis was yet a minor, the state ordered Aristodemus, who was a relation and guardian to the young king, to command the army. When the Lacedæmonians had taken the field, the enemy, who were now gathered in a body, assembled together in consultation how, with the best advantage, to bring on a battle. Timolaus of Corinth, on this occasion, said thus:

Speech of  
Timolaus.

“ It is my opinion, confederates, that the course  
“ of the Lacedæmonian affairs very much resembles  
“ the course of rivers. For rivers, near their  
“ sources, are never large, and are easy to be  
“ passed. But then the farther they run, other  
“ rivers, by having emptied themselves into them,  
“ increase the depth and impetuosity of the  
“ current. It is just so with the Lacedæmonians.  
“ When they first come out into the field, they are  
“ alone; but, taking in, on their route, the other  
“ states, their numbers are enlarged, and they are  
“ harder to be resisted. I see again, that such as  
“ have a mind to destroy wasps, in case they  
“ attempt to hurt them when they are come out  
“ of their nest, are grievously stung for their



“ pains ; but, if they fire them when they are all  
“ within their nest, they suffer no harm, and  
“ demolish the wasps. It is therefore my judg-  
“ ment, that we should reflect on these points,  
“ and fight the Lacedæmonians in Sparta itself,  
“ which would, indeed, be best ; but, if that  
“ cannot be, as near to Sparta as possible.”

As Timolaus was judged to advise them well, they unanimously resolved to follow his advice. But, whilst they were settling the points of command, and agreeing together in what depth to draw up the whole of their army, lest, if the several states drew up their files too deep, the enemy might have it in their power to surround them—whilst, I say, they were settling these points, the Lacedæmonians, who had been joined by the Tegeans and Mantineans, were advancing along the coast. The enemy marching about the same time, the Corinthians, and all on their side, were now at Nemea, and the Lacedæmonians and confederates at Sicyon. As the latter had forced their way by the pass of Epicecæa, the light-armed of the enemy had, at first, terribly annoyed them, by darting and shooting at them from the eminences ; but, when they came down again to the sea, they continued their march along the plains, putting the country to fire and sword. The enemy, at length, drew near and encamped, having a rivulet in their front. The Lacedæmonians still advancing, were now but <sup>a</sup>ten stadia distant from the enemy ;

<sup>a</sup> About a mile.



BOOK IV. halting therefore, and encamping, they remained quiet. And I will now reckon up the numbers on either side.

*Battle of Sicyon.* There were now assembled, of the Lacedæmonians, to the amount of six thousand heavy-armed; of the Eleans and Triphyllians, and Acrorians and Lasionians, nearly three thousand; fifteen hundred of the Sicyonians; and the number of Epidaurians and Trazenians, and Hermionians and Haliensians, was not less than three thousand. Beside these, there were about six hundred horse belonging to the Lacedæmonians, accompanied by about three hundred Cretan archers. The slingers of the Marganeans and Ledrinians, and Amphidolians, were not fewer than four hundred. The Phliasians, indeed, had not joined them; for they excused themselves by alleging a truce. This was the force on the side of the Lacedæmonians.—On the side of the enemy were now assembled, of the Athenians, six thousand heavy-armed; the Argives were said to amount to seven thousand; the Bœotians, since the Orchomenians were not come up, were about five thousand; the Corinthians were three thousand; and, from the whole isle of Eubœa, there were not fewer than three thousand. Such was the amount of their heavy-armed. The horse of the Bœotians, as the Orchomenians were not come up, were eight hundred; of the Athenians, six hundred; of the Chalcideans of Eubœa, an hundred; of the Locrians of Opus, fifty. The light-armed, added to those belonging to the Corinthians, were very numerous indeed; for the



Locrians of Ozolæ, and the Meliensians, and the Acarnanians, were with **them**.—Such was the force on either side. BOOK IV.

The Bœotians, so long as they were on the left wing, were in no hurry at all for a battle. But, so soon as the Athenians were posted over-against the Lacedæmonians, and they themselves took post on the right where they faced the Achæans, they immediately declared that the victims were auspicious, and proclaimed that all should be ready for a battle. But neglecting, in the first place, the rule of drawing up by sixteens, they formed their battalion exceeding deep; and farther, still kept creeping forwards to the right, in order to over-stretch the enemy's wing. The Athenians, that they might not be separated from the rest of the army, followed their motion, though sensible, at the same time, how great a risk they ran of being quite surrounded.

So far the Lacedæmonians had no perception at all of the enemy's approach, for the ground was covered over with shrubs. But when the pæan began, they knew what was doing. They instantly issued out orders for the whole army to prepare for battle. So soon as they were formed, the commanders of the auxiliary bodies enjoined them to follow their leaders in the order they had now placed them. The Lacedæmonians kept inclining towards the right, and thus they far over-stretched the enemy's wing, so that only six regiments of the Athenians faced the Lacedæmonians, whilst four of them were over-against the Tegeans. When they were not above a stadium asunder,



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the Lacedæmonians, after sacrificing, in obedience to their laws, a she-goat to the goddess of the chase, led on towards the enemy, bending circularly the part of their line that over-stretched, to surround the enemy. But when the battle was joined, all the confederates on the Lacedæmonian side were defeated by their antagonists, though the Pellenians, who faced the Thespians, maintained the fight some time, and some of both sides perished on the spot. The Lacedæmonians themselves beat all the Athenians whom they charged, and, surrounding them with the part of their line that over-stretched, slew numbers of them; and still, as they suffered nothing from the enemy, kept pushing forwards in their regular array. It was thus that they clearly passed the four Athenian regiments till they returned from the pursuit; by which means those Athenians saved their lives, excepting some few, who, in the charge, were slain by the Tegeans. The Lacedæmonians, farther, met the Argives full in their retreat; and the first general officer was going to fall in full upon their front; when somebody is said to have roared out aloud, “to let the first of them pass by.” This was permitted; and then, running upon their flank and wounding them on their unarmed sides, they slew many of them. They also fell in with and attacked the Corinthians in their retreat. The Lacedæmonians farther fell in with some of the Thebans retreating from their pursuit, and slew a great number of them. These things being done, the vanquished fled at first to the walls; but afterwards, the Corinthians setting



the example, they posted themselves again in their former camp. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, repairing to the spot of ground where they first charged the enemy, erected the trophy. And this is an exact account of the battle.

Agesilaus from Asia was marching forwards with all expedition. He was now at Amphipolis, when Dercyllidas meets him with the news, that “the Lacedæmonians have gained a victory, with the loss only of eight of their own citizens, but a vast slaughter of the enemy:” he added, at the same time, that “no small number of the confederates were slain.” Agesilaus put this question to him, “Would it not be proper, think you, Dercyllidas, to communicate the news of this victory without loss of time to the cities, which have sent their troops hither under my orders?” Dercyllidas answered, that “the hearing of it must, in all probability, raise their spirits.” “You then can best report it, because you yourself were present at the action.” He was highly delighted at hearing this. All his life long he had been very fond of going abroad. He said, therefore, “Do you order me to go?” “I do,” said he, and enjoin you to tell them farther, that if affairs turn out well in Greece, we will be with them again according to promise.” Dercyllidas immediately continued his journey for the Hellespont, whilst Agesilaus, having passed through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly.

But now the Larisseans and Cranonians, and Seotusians and Pharsalians, confederate with the Bœotians, and all the Thessalians, such excepted as

The march of  
Agesilaus.



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were then under sentence of exile, pursued and gave him molestation. At that juncture he was leading his army in the long march, with half his cavalry in the van and the other half in the rear. But, because the Thessalians, by harrassing those in the rear, retarded the march, he sends off the cavalry in the van, except his own body-guard, to strengthen the rear. When both sides were now drawn up to face one another, the Thessalians thinking it by no means advisable to fight on horseback against heavy-armed, wheeled about and retreated in a leisurely manner, and the heavy-armed too eagerly and rashly pursued them. Agesilaus perceiving bad conduct on both sides, sends off the finest body of horse, that was his own guard, with orders for the others to pursue, and themselves to do the same with their utmost speed, and not give the enemy time to face about. The Thessalians no sooner saw them riding down upon them beyond their expectation, than some of them fled outright, some faced about, and some, in the very endeavour to face, as they had the enemy on their flanks, were taken prisoners. Polycharmus, the Pharsalian, indeed, a commander in the horse, faced about, and, fighting at the head of his own troop, is slain. But, so soon as he had dropped, a most dreadful flight ensued amongst the Thessalians, in which numbers were slain, numbers were taken alive, and none stopped their flight till they were got on the mountain NARTHACIUM. And then Agesilaus set up a trophy between PRAS and NARTHACIUM. There, too, he halted, highly delighted with this day's work, in



which, with cavalry of his own creation, he had vanquished those who reckoned themselves the best horsemen in the world. The next day, having crossed the Achaic mountains of Phthia, he marched through a friendly country till he reached the frontiers of Bœotia. But, just as he was entering Bœotia, the sun appeared in the form of the crescent of the moon, and news was received, that the Lacedæmonians were beaten at sea, and their admiral, Pisander, killed. It was also told him in what manner the battle had been fought.

That near Cnidus the fleets had borne down upon one another: that Pharnabazus, who was admiral on the side of the enemy, was in the Phœnician fleet, and Conon, who commanded the Grecian squadron, had drawn up his ships in the van: but, when Pisander had formed his line of battle, his ships appeared much inferior in number to the Greeks under Conon; upon which the confederates in the left wing immediately took to flight, whilst Pisander rushing in amongst the enemy with his own vessel well armed with beaks, was driven on shore: that the other persons of the fleet, who were driven on shore, abandoned their ships and fled safely off to Cnidus; but Pisander, continuing to fight from his decks, was killed.

Sea-fight off  
Cnidus.

Agesilaus, at first, was exceedingly mortified at this piece of news; but he soon recollected, that the disposition of the bulk of his army was such, that they would readily take a share in all joyful



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occurrences, and there was no necessity to communicate to them such things as were opposite to their wishes. Hereupon he assumed another countenance, and gave out that "Pisander, indeed, had lost his life, but, however, had gained a victory at sea." He had no sooner published this, than he sacrificed oxen for the good tidings received, and sent round to several persons a share of the victims. A skirmish immediately ensued with the enemy, in which the soldiers of Agesilaus got the better, upon the strength of the report, that the Lacedæmonians were victorious at sea.

There were now in the field, against Agesilaus, the Bœotians, the Athenians, the Argives, the Corinthians, the Ænians, the Eubœans, and both the Locrians. He had with him one whole brigade of Lacedæmonians that joined him from Corinth, and the half of another brigade from Orchomenus. He had, farther, the newly enfranchised citizens of Sparta, who had been with him in Asia; he had also the auxiliary body commanded by Herippidas. The rest were the quotas of aid from the Grecian cities in Asia, and from the Grecian cities in Europe, which he had taken up on his march back. The heavy-armed from Orchomenus and Phocis were all the accession he had gained from the adjacent parts. The targeteers of Agesilaus were much superior in number; the number of the horse was nearly equal on both sides. Such was the force of either army. And I will now give an exact account of the



battle, for such another hath not been fought in our days\*.

There were now facing one another in the plains of Coronea, the army under Agesilaus from the Cephissus, but the army along with the Thebans from Helicon. Agesilaus had the right of his own army, but the Orchomenians were posted in the extremity of his left. The Thebans, on the other side, stood on the right, but the Argives had the left. During the approach, there was a deep silence on both sides. When they were about the distance of a<sup>f</sup> stadium from one another, the Thebans, having set up a shout, came running to the charge. But, when there was no more than three<sup>g</sup> plethra of ground between them, the auxiliaries, under the command of Herippidas, started out before the main battle of Agesilaus, to receive them, and were accompanied by the Ionians, and Æolians, and Hellespontines. All these were now running together in one body to the charge, and, coming to the point of spear, broke the body of enemies they encountered. The Argives also were not able to stand before the body under Agesilaus, but fled towards Helicon. And here some of the auxiliaries were already putting the garland on the head of Agesilaus. But a message is brought him, that the Thebans having cut to pieces the Orchomenians, were amongst the baggage; upon which he immediately

Battle of  
Coronea.

\* Xenophon himself was at this battle, serving under Agesilaus. See the *Anabasis*, l. v.

<sup>f</sup> About one tenth of a mile.

<sup>g</sup> Three hundred feet.



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put the main body in countermarch, and led them towards the Thebans. But the Thebans no sooner perceived that their confederates were fled to Helicon, than designing to slip away and join them, they were briskly marching off in firm and close array. On this occasion it may be said, beyond all dispute, that Agesilaus acted with the utmost bravery: he did not, however, prefer the securest method. For, when it was in his power to let those who were sheering off pass by, and then, by a close pursuit, to defeat their rear, he did it not, but, full in their front, he dashed against the Thebans. Here, thrusting shield against shield, they were pushing, were fighting, were slaying, were dying. At length some of the Thebans slip off to Helicon, and many of them, retreating back, were slain. When thus the victory remained with Agesilaus, and he himself was brought back wounded to the main body, some horsemen riding up to him acquaint him, that about eighty of the enemy, with their arms, are under the temple, and demanded how they must act. He, though sorely wounded in many parts of his body, forgot not, however, the duties of religion, but ordered that they might be permitted to depart where they pleased, and forbade all kind of insult. And then (for it was already evening) they took their supper and their repose. But, early next morning, he ordered Gylis, a general-officer, to draw up the army and set up a trophy, all of them to be crowned with garlands in honour of the god, and all the music of the army to play. These things, therefore, they did.



The Thebans now sent heralds, desiring a truce to fetch off and inter their slain. A truce accordingly is granted; and Agesilaus, repairing to Delphi, offered the tenth of his spoils to the god, in value not less than an hundred talents<sup>a</sup>. But Gylis, a general officer, taking the command of the army, marched them off into Phocis, and from thence he made an incursion into Locris. All the next day the soldiers were carrying away the moveables and corn from the villages; but when evening was come, as the Lacedæmonians marched off in the rear, the Locrians were close at their heels, pouring in their javelins and darts upon them. Yet when the Lacedæmonians, by facing about and pursuing them, destroy some of the enemy, they gave over following them in the rear, but kept galling them from the eminences on the right. The Lacedæmonians then endeavoured to gain the ascent, but, as it grew quite dark, they tumbled in their retreat, because of the unevenness of the ground; some, too, because they could see nothing before them; and some were struck down by the weapons of the enemy. Gylis, the general officer, and most of the soldiers about him, and, in all, eighteen Spartans, lose their lives on this occasion, some being killed with stones, and some with other weapons. And, had not those from the camp marched up after supper to their relief, the whole party was in great danger of perishing. After this, the rest of the army was

<sup>a</sup> Nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-four pounds fifteen shillings.



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Year before  
Christ 393.  
A massacre at  
Corinth.

dismissed to their several cities, and Agesilaus went by sea to Sparta.

The war, after this, was carried on by the Athenians and Bœotians, and Argives, and confederates, who took the field from Corinth, against the Lacedæmonians and their confederates from Sicyon. But the Corinthians, perceiving that the consequence of this was the entire devastation of their own lands and a constant destruction of their people, from the nearness of the enemy, whilst the rest of the confederates were enjoying peace at home, and duly reaping the productions of their soil,—the greatest part of them, and the best men amongst them, grew desirous of peace, and laboured together to bring others into the same persuasion. But the Argives and Bœotians, and Athenians, and such of the Corinthians as had shared the king's money and were principal authors of the war, saw plainly, that, unless they could rid themselves of such as were bent on peace, the city of Corinth would fall under a Lacedæmonian influence, and therefore endeavoured to secure their point by a massacre. In the first place, they contrived the most impious scheme that ever men devised. For, though it is every where a rule not to put to death upon a festival even such as are legally condemned to die, yet these men pitched upon the last day of the Euclean solemnity, as presuming they should then surprise the largest number upon the forum, to execute the massacre. When the marks of whom they were to despatch had been given to the persons employed, they drew their swords, and



murdered one person standing in the circle, another sitting leisurely down, another in the theatre, and another on the very bench of justice. When once the alarm was spread, the very best men of Corinth betook themselves immediately, some to the statues of the gods in the forum, and some to the altars. But this most execrable band of assassins, entirely lost to all sense of duty, I mean equally those who contrived and those who executed the facts, murdered them even in the temples; insomuch that some, who received no harm, but retained a due sense of humanity, were most grievously afflicted at the sight of such impiety. In this manner most of the elderly Corinthians, as such generally frequented the forum, are put to death. The younger sort, as Pasimelus suspected what was in agitation, kept themselves quietly in Craneum. But when they heard the noise, and some came flying from the scene to take refuge amongst them, they at once ran up to the citadel of Corinth, and repulsed the Argives and others who were making an assault upon it. Whilst now they were consulting what was to be done, a capital falls off from a column, without either an earthquake or a blast of wind. They sacrificed, and the appearance of the victims was such, that the soothsayers declared it was best for them to go down from hence. At first, therefore, like so many exiles, they withdrew out of the territory of Corinth. But their friends sending persuasions after them, nay, their mothers and their brethren coming to them with entreaties, and even some now invested with power pro-



## BOOK IV.

missing, with an oath, that no harm should be done them, they at length came back to their former habitations. Yet, now beholding the tyrants in authority, perceiving the actual ruin of the state, since the boundaries were demolished, and they were to style their country *Argos* instead of *Corinth*; necessitated, farther, to submit to the polity of *Argos*, so unsuited to their taste, and reduced within their own walls to a worse condition than that of mere sojourners; some of them there were, who thought such a life not worth the living, but well worth their while to try if they could not make *Corinth*, as it had originally been, their own country again, if they could not assert its freedom, clear it of those execrable assassins, and restore its excellent constitution: if indeed they could accomplish these points, they should become the preservers of their country; and, in case they miscarried, they should manifest a desire of obtaining the most noble and most solid acquisitions, and should be sure to die a most glorious death.

The long-walls  
of *Corinth*  
surprised.

In this disposition of mind, two of them, *Pasimelus* and *Alcimenes*, endeavoured, by creeping in through the rivulet, to confer with *Praxitas*, a general-officer of the *Lacedæmonians*, who with his own brigade was now keeping guard in *Sicyon*, and told him, they could open him an entrance within the walls that reach down to *Lecheum*. *Praxitas*, who long since was well assured of their veracity, believed all they said; and, having obtained an order for his brigade, which was just going from *Sicyon*, to continue there, he settled



with them the manner of this entrance. And when these two persons, either by regular rotation or purposed solicitation, were placed on the guard of the gates, Praxitas then approacheth that spot of ground where stood the trophy with his Lacedæmonian brigade, and the Sicyonians, and as many Corinthian exiles as were ready at hand. But when he was come up to the gates, and yet was afraid to enter, he desired he might first send in a person, in whom he confided, to take a view of what was within. The two projectors led him in, and with so much ingenuity shewed him every thing, that the person introduced reported that all was safe exactly to their former description of things: now, therefore, Praxitas enters. The distance between the two walls was great; when, therefore, they were drawn up within, and their number was judged too small, they fortified themselves with a rampart and ditch, the best they could make, to secure the post till their confederates came up to their support. There was also behind them, in the harbour, a garrison of Bœotians.

Thus they entered by night, and passed the next day quietly without molestation. But the day after, came marching down against them the Argives with all their force, who finding the Lacedæmonians drawn up on the right, next to them the Sicyonians, and the exiles from Corinth, about a hundred and fifty in number, close to the eastern wall, they range themselves also in order of battle. Nearest to the eastern wall were the mercenaries under Philocrates, next to them the Argives, the

A battle within  
the walls.



## BOOK IV.

Corinthians from the city had the left. Their own numbers made them despise the foe, and they immediately charged. They beat, indeed, the Sicyonians, and having opened a breach in the rampart, pursued them to the sea, and there slew many of them. But Pasimachus, who commanded the horse, though the number he had was very small, when he saw the Sicyonians defeated, ordered the horses to be fastened to the trees, and snatched away the shields from the fliers; and then, with such as were willing to follow him, he marched up to the Argives. The Argives, who saw the letter *S* upon their shields, took them for Sicyonians, and were under no apprehensions at all. Pasimachus is now reported to have said, "By the twin gods, ye Argives, these *SS* will be your ruin;" and immediately charged them. Engaging in this manner with a handful of men against numbers, he is slain with those of his party.

In the mean-time the Corinthian exiles, who had defeated their antagonists, were pushing upwards, and were now approaching the wall that encircled the city. But the Lacedæmonians, who perceived the defeat of the Sicyonians, marched downwards to their succour, keeping the rampart on their left. The Argives, hearing that the Lacedæmonians were in their rear, wheeled suddenly about, and were throwing themselves over the rampart. The farthest of them in the right, being struck on the unarmed side by the Lacedæmonians, were dying apace. But those nearest the wall, close gathered in a body, were retreating in a great multitude towards the city. Yet no



sooner did they fall in with the Corinthian exiles, and knew them to be enemies, than they again fled backwards. Here, indeed, some of them running up the stairs, jumped down from the wall, and were bruised to death; others striving to get up, but beat off the stairs, were slain; and some, trodden under foot by their own companions, were trampled to death. The Lacedæmonians, on this occasion, had enow and enow again to kill. Full employ was here assigned them by God, beyond all they could have prayed for. For that a multitude of enemies, affrighted, astonished, exposing their unarmed sides, should thus be delivered up to slaughter, not a soul amongst them endeavouring to resist, and all contributing in every respect to their own destruction—was not the hand of Heaven discernible here? Accordingly, in a small space of time such numbers were slain, that men who had only been used to see heaps of corn, of wood, and of stones, saw at that time heaps of dead. The garrison of Bœotians also in the harbour, some of them having climbed upon the walls, and some of them upon the roof of the docks, were put to death.

When all was over, the Corinthians and Argives fetched off their dead under truce; and the confederates of the Lacedæmonians came up to join them. When they were thus assembled, the first resolution of Praxitas was, to lay open so much of the walls as would yield a sufficient passage to an army; and he then marched the army off, and led them towards Megara. He now, in the first place, takes Sidus by assault, and after that, Crommyon,



## BOOK IV.

Having fixed a garrison within the walls of these places, he resumed his march. And having fortified Epicecæa, that it might serve as a bulwark to cover the territories of the confederates, he then dismissed the army, and returned himself to Sparta.

Iphicrates.

Henceforth, neither side took the field with their grand armies; they only marched garrisons into the cities, one side to Corinth, and the other to Sicyon, to preserve these important places. Yet both sides, being possessed of a body of mercenaries, were continually harassing and fighting one another. In this manner, Iphicrates, breaking into the territory of Phlius, placed an ambuscade, and then went about plundering the country with an handful of men; by which means he slew some of the Phlians who marched out of the city with too little circumspection to drive him off. For this reason the Phlians, who, before this accident, would not receive the Lacedæmonians within their walls, lest they should restore those persons who said they had been exiled for their attachment to the Lacedæmonians, became so terrified at those who sallied out from Corinth, that they sent for the Lacedæmonians, and delivered up their city and citadel to their protection. The Lacedæmonians, however, though benevolently disposed towards these exiles, yet, so long as they were masters of the city, never made the least mention of their recalment. And, so soon as they saw the city had recovered its usual spirit, they evacuated the place, and restored them their town and their laws exactly as they received them.



But the party commanded by Iphicrates were making frequent incursions into Arcadia, in which they took much booty, and even attacked the fortified places. For the heavy-armed of the Arcadians durst never march out into the field against them, so highly terrified they were at the targeteers: and yet these very targeteers were so afraid of the Lacedæmonians, that they durst never approach their heavy-armed within throw of javelin: nay, some of the younger Lacedæmonians had at times ventured to attack them even out of that distance, and had killed some of them. The Lacedæmonians, I say, had a contempt of these targeteers, but at the same time had a much greater contempt of their own confederates. For the Mantineans, when once they came out to join them, ran briskly towards the targeteers, but being galled with darts from the wall reaching down to Lecheum, they wheeled off, and some of them were killed in open flight; insomuch that the Lacedæmonians ventured to break a severe jest upon them, saying, "their confederates were as much afraid of the targeteers, as children are of bugbears." They marched, however, out of Lecheum with a brigade of their own, and the Corinthian exiles, and encamped themselves in a circle round the city of Corinth.

The Athenians now, who dreaded the Lacedæmonian strength, lest, as they had broken down a passage in the long walls of the Corinthians, they might march against them, thought it the most advisable expedient, to rebuild the walls that were demolished by Praxitas. Thither, according



## BOOK IV.

War against  
Argos.

they repaired with the whole force of Athens, attended by carpenters and masons, and in a few days' time completely rebuilt the part towards Sicyon and the west, and then proceeded in a more leisurely manner to repair the eastern wall.

But the Lacedæmonians, reflecting that the Argives, who are in a flourishing condition at home, were delighted at this war, march out to invade them. Agesilaus commanded in this expedition; and after laying waste all their territory, he departed thence by Tegea towards Corinth, and demolished the walls just rebuilt by the Athenians. His brother Teleutias also came up to him by sea with a squadron of about twelve triremes, so that their mother was now pronounced happy indeed, since, in one and the same day, one of her sons commanding by land, demolished the walls of the enemy, and the other commanding at sea, destroyed their ships and docks. Agesilaus, however, after these exploits disbanded the confederates, and marched back the troops of that state to Sparta.

Year before  
Christ 392.  
Agesilaus takes  
Piræum.

The Lacedæmonians after this received intelligence from the exiles, that the Corinthians of the city had lodged and secured all their cattle in Piræum, by which means they enjoyed a plentiful subsistence; upon which they march out afresh against Corinth, Agesilaus commanding also on this occasion. In the first place, he arrived at the Isthmus. It was now the month in which the Isthmian games are celebrated. The Argives were this moment there, presiding at the sacrifice to Neptune, as if Argos was Corinth. But they no



sooner perceived the approach of Agesilaus, than, abandoning their sacrifices and their feasts in the highest consternation, they withdrew into the city of Corinth, by the road of Cenchreæ. Agesilaus, however, would not pursue, though he saw their flight. But, taking up his own quarters in the temple, he himself sacrificed to the god, and continued there till the Corinthian exiles had performed their sacrifices to Neptune, and the games. Yet, when Agesilaus was departed, the Argives did all over again. This year, therefore, it happened, that in some instances the same person was beaten twice over; and in others, that the very same persons were twice proclaimed to be victors.

It was on the fourth day that Agesilaus led his army towards Piræum. But finding it numerously guarded, after the time of repast, he encamped before Corinth, as if he was sure of its surrender. The Corinthians, therefore, being sadly alarmed lest the city might actually be betrayed to him, sent for Iphicrates with the greatest part of his targeteers. And Agesilaus, discovering that they had marched into Corinth by night, wheeled off so soon as it was day, and led directly towards Piræum. He himself advanced by the hot baths, and sent a brigade up to the highest part of the mountain. The night following, he encamped near the baths, and the brigade spent the night on the summit of the mountain. And on this occasion Agesilaus gained high reputation, by a small but seasonable piece of management. For, though there were persons enow employed in carrying up provisions to the brigade, yet nobody brought



## BOOK IV.

them any fire. They found it excessively cold, they were mounted quite aloft in the air, and hail and rain had fallen in the evening. Besides, they had got upon the mountain clad only in their thin summer-garments. They were shivering, were quite in the dark, and had no appetite at all to their supper. Agesilaus sends them no less than ten persons with fire in chafingdishes. When these, getting up as they could by different paths, had reached the summit, many and large fires were soon kindled, since there was plenty of fuel at hand, and all the Lacedæmonians anointed themselves, and many of them made a hearty supper. This very night the temple of Neptune was seen all in flames; but by whom it was set on fire is still unknown. And now, when they in the Piræum perceived that the eminence was possessed by the enemy, they no longer thought of resisting: they betook themselves, therefore, for refuge into the temple of Juno, both men and women, slaves as well as free-men, with the greatest part of their cattle. Agesilaus marched at the head of the army along the sea-coast. But the brigade at the same time coming down from the eminence, takes Oenoë, a fortress walled about, and made booty of every thing within it. That day every soldier in the army gained abundantly in plunder whatever he could stand in need of. For those, who had refuged themselves in the temple of Juno, came out, and left to the discretion of Agesilaus to determine what should be done with them. His sentence was, that “all such as had been concerned in the  
“ massacre should be delivered up to the exiles, and



“all their effects in general should be sold.” In consequence of this, all sorts of living creatures came out of the temple to surrender. BOOK IV.

Many embassies from different states were attending here. Even the Bœotians were come with a demand—“What they must do to obtain a peace?” But Agesilaus, with an air of high elevation, would not condescend to look towards them, though Pharax, the public host of the Bœotians, stood at their head, ready to introduce them to him. He was now sitting in the Rotundo, at the harbour, and taking a view of the booty as they brought it out. A party of Lacedæmonians, belonging to the heavy-armed, with their spears alone were guarding the prisoners along, and were gazed at with admiration by the standers-by: for the happy and the victorious are generally regarded as fine spectacles indeed. Agesilaus still kept his seat, and seemed to be highly delighted with the scene before him, when a person on horseback came galloping that way with his horse in a foam. Many persons called upon him to tell his news, to whom he made no answer. But when he was come near to Agesilaus, throwing himself off, and running up to him with a very gloomy countenance, he told him the sad calamity of the brigade at Lecheum. Agesilaus no sooner heard it, than he jumped from his seat, snatched his spear, and ordered the herald to call the general-officers, the captains of companies, and the commanders of the auxiliary troops. When these came running to him, he ordered the rest of them (for they had not yet dined,) to take a little meat



## BOOK IV.

with their utmost despatch, and follow him with all speed, whilst himself, with Damasias and his company, set out instantly, though fasting. His guards too, in their heavy armour, set out eagerly with him: he went off at their head, they followed their leader. When he had passed by the hot baths, and was got into the plain of Lecheum, three horsemen ride up and tell him, that “the dead bodies are recovered.” When he heard this, he ordered his soldiers to ground their arms; and, after halting some time, he led them back again to the temple of Juno.

On the day following every thing they had taken was disposed of by sale. And the Bœotian ambassadors were then called for, and asked the reason of their coming. But now, they made not the least mention of peace, saying only, “they were desirous, if permission could be obtained, to go into the city to speak with their countrymen, who were serving there.” “I am well satisfied,” Agesilaus replied with a smile, you have not so great a desire to see the soldiers, as to gain a view of the late success of your friends, and know how considerable it is. But have patience; I will conduct you thither myself. And if you go with me, you will be much more likely to come to an exact knowledge of the truth.” He was as good as his word; for the next day, after a sacrifice, he led his army towards the city. He would not demolish the trophy; yet, if a single tree was left standing, felling it, and breaking it in shatters, he convinced them that nobody durst come out into the field against



him. After doing this, he encamped near Lecheum, and sent away the Theban ambassadors, not indeed to Corinth, but by sea to Crusis. Yet such a calamity as the late one, being an unusual thing to Lacedæmonians, a general dejection was visible throughout the camp, except in the persons whose sons, or fathers, or brothers, had died in their posts. These, indeed, as if they had gained a victory, walked up and down with a cheerful countenance; exulting over their own private misfortunes. But the great calamity of that brigade fell out in the following manner:

The Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ, though they are in the field or abroad on any business whatever, always repair home at the Hyacinthan festival to join in the pæan. At this juncture, therefore, Agesilaus had picked the Amicleans out of all the troops, and left them at Lecheum. The officer, who commanded that garrison, ordered a body of the confederates to take care and guard the fortress, whilst himself, with his brigade of heavy-armed and the horse, conveyed the Amycleans in safety by the city of Corinth. When they were got to the distance of about twenty or thirty stadia<sup>1</sup> from Sicyon, the officer, with his heavy-armed, who were about six hundred, was returning back again to Lecheum, but had left orders with the commander of the horse to proceed forwards with the Amycleans till they thought proper to dismiss him, and then likewise to return to Lecheum. They were not ignorant, it is true, that

Defeat of a  
Lacedæmonian  
brigade.

<sup>1</sup> Two or three miles.



## BOOK IV.

many both of the targeteers and heavy-armed were now in Corinth. They however entertained a contempt of them, as if nobody durst presume to attack Lacedæmonians, after their late successes. But they of Corinth, and Callias, the son of Hipponicus, who commanded the heavy-armed Athenians, and Iphicrates, who commanded the targeteers, seeing plainly that they were but few in number, and had neither targeteers nor horsemen with them, thought they might safely attack them with their own targeteers: for, should they proceed in their march, they could make havoc of them by throwing darts at their unarmed sides; and, if they endeavoured to pursue, targeteers could easily avoid the nimblest men in heavy armour. Having thus considered the point, they lead out into the field. Callias, for his part, drew up his heavy-armed not far from the city, whilst Iphicrates, with his targeteers, began the attack upon the Lacedæmonian brigade. The Lacedæmonians being thus galled with darts, here one of them was receiving wounds, and there another was dropping, and such as stood next in the ranks were ordered to take them up, and carry them to Lecheum; and those of the brigade, who were thus employed, were the only persons in reality who escaped with life. In the mean-time, the commanding officer ordered the Lacedæmonians of the first military class, to pursue and drive away the enemy. They pursued, it is true, but got not within javelin's throw of any of them, heavy-armed as they were in chase of targeteers. And he had farther enjoined them to retire from pursuit,



before they came up to the heavy-armed of the enemy. When, therefore, they were retreating in a straggling manner, since they had pursued before with their utmost speed, the targeteers of Iphicrates faced about again, and kept pouring in their darts, either directly upon them, or running up to their flanks on the unarmed sides. And immediately, in this first pursuit, they slew nine or ten of the Lacedæmonians. Being so far successful, they renewed their attacks with much greater spirit than before. The Lacedæmonians were grievously annoyed; and the commanding-officer now ordered the two first military classes to pursue. They did so, but lost more persons in the retreat than they had done before. Their best men being thus destroyed, the horsemen are returned, and join them; so now, accompanied by the horse, they renew the pursuit. But on this occasion, when the targeteers kept flying before them, the horse managed the pursuit in a very improper manner. They rode not after them, so as to reach and slaughter the fliers, but keeping abreast with their own foot, either advanced or retreated with them. After repeating this method again and again, and suffering at every repetition, their numbers were continually lessening, their efforts were fainter and fainter, whilst the enemy attacked with redoubled spirit, and came thicker at them than before. Thus grievously distressed, they draw close together in a body on a little hillock about two stadia from the sea, and about sixteen or seventeen from Lecheum. Those at



BOOK IV.  Lecheum perceiving what was the matter, leap into their boats, rowed amain, and at length came to the hillock. But already grievously distressed, they were dying apace, they could do nothing at all in their own defence; and, what was worse, beholding the heavy-armed advancing to attack them, they take to flight. Some of them now rush into the sea, and a small number get safe to Lecheum with the horse. But, in all the skirmishes and the flight, no less than two hundred and fifty of them were destroyed. And in this manner was this affair conducted.

Agesilaus now marched off, taking with him the suffering brigade, and leaving a fresh one at Lecheum. Through the whole of his march to Sparta, he entered every city as late as possible in the evening, and resumed his march as early as possible every morning. Nay, he set out so early from Orchomenus, that he passed by Mantinea before it was day-light. The soldiers could not bear to see the Mantineans with joy in their faces for the late calamity they had suffered.

After this, Iphicrates continued to act successfully in every thing he undertook. For as a garrison had been placed at Sidus and Crommyon, by Praxitas, when he took those places, and another at Oenoë, by Agesilaus, when he took Piræum, Iphicrates reduced them all. The Lacedæmonians, however, and confederates, still continued their guard at Lecheum; but the Corinthian exiles durst no longer march towards Corinth by land, from Sicyon, being awed by the late calamity of



the brigade; but going by water, and landing frequently near it, they carried on hostilities, vexatious indeed on both sides, with those in the city.

After this, the Achæans, who were possessors of Calydon, anciently belonging to Ætolia, and had declared the Caledonians to be members of their own community, were obliged to keep a garrison in the place. For the Acarnanians made war upon it, assisted by some Athenians and Bœotians in pursuance of the confederacy between them. The Achæans, therefore, being at this time distressed, send ambassadors to Lacedæmon. They arrived there, and said,—“they were treated  
“wrongfully by the Lacedæmonians. For our  
“own parts (said they), and you know it, Lacedæmonians, we readily take the field whenever  
“you summon us, and march whithersoever you  
“lead us. And now, that a city of ours is  
“blocked up by the Acarnanians and their confederates the Athenians and Bœotians, you take  
“no manner of care of us. Thus deserted as  
“we are, we are no longer able to make head  
“against them. But we must either entirely,  
“giving up the war in Peloponnesus, \*employ  
“our whole force against the Acarnanians and  
“their confederates, or submit to a peace, the  
“best we can get.” Thus they spoke with a kind of threat to the Lacedæmonians to abandon their confederacy, unless they sent them succour in their turn. But, after this representation, it was judged expedient by the Ephori and council

Year before  
Christ 391.

Agésilas  
commands in  
the Acarnanian  
war.

\* Dr. Taylor's reading, πάντες διαπολεμησόμεν.



## BOOK IV.

of state, to march with the Achæans against the Acarnanians. Accordingly they send out Agesilaus with two Lacedæmonian brigades and a body of confederates; and the Achæans joined in the expedition with the whole of their force. But, when Agesilaus had made his passage, all the Acarnanians fled out of the country into the cities, and drove away their cattle to a very distant place, that they might not be taken by his army. Agesilaus, so soon as he arrived on the enemy's frontiers, sent to Stratus the capital of Acarnania, and declared, that "if they did not  
"relinquish their confederacy with the Boeotians  
"and Athenians, and join the Lacedæmonians  
"and their confederates, he would lay all their  
"country waste, and not spare the least corner  
"in it." And, as they gave no heed to this declaration, he kept his word. For, without any intermission, carrying on his devastations, he advanced in his marches not above ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, therefore, thinking they had little to apprehend from the slow marches of this army, fetched down their cattle from the mountains, and almost every where resumed their rural employments. When now they were judged by Agesilaus to have given up all fear, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day after he had entered the country, he sacrificed early in the morning, and before evening completed a march of <sup>1</sup>one hundred and sixty stadia to the lake about which were almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians,

<sup>1</sup> About sixteen miles.



and took a vast many herds of oxen and horses, and flocks of cattle of all other kinds, and many slaves. Having thus gained it, he halted there the next day, and sold all the booty; many targeteers, however, of the Acarnanians came up; and, as Agesilaus had encamped upon a mountain, were shooting and slinging without suffering any thing in return, and obliged the army to come down into the plain from the summit of the mountain, though they had just been preparing for supper. The Acarnanians, indeed, drew off at night; and the army, having posted guards, took their repose in quiet: but the next day Agesilaus led them back. The issue from the meadow and plain round the lake was narrow, because the ground was, on all sides, surrounded by mountains. The Acarnanians had posted themselves upon them, and kept pouring down from above their darts and javelins. They even ventured down to the skirts of the mountains; they attacked and annoyed the army, so that they could no longer proceed in their march. The heavy-armed, it is true, from the main body and the horse pursued them, but did no damage to such assailants: for the Acarnanians, whenever they thought proper to retire, were immediately in their strong holds. Agesilaus, esteeming it a difficult piece of work for an army, thus grievously annoyed, to get clear through so narrow a pass, determined to pursue those who attacked on his left, as they were the most numerous body. The mountain also, on this side, was much easier of ascent for the heavy-armed and horse. Yet, during the time that he



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sacrificed and consulted the victims, the Acarnanians still continued to pour down their darts and javelins, and approaching nearer and nearer, wounded numbers. But at length, upon his giving the signal, the heavy-armed of the two first military classes started forwards, the horsemen were riding up, and Agesilaus followed with the rest. Such of the Acarnanians, therefore, as had ventured down the mountain and had been skirmishing with them, are soon forced to fly, and, whilst scrambling up the ascent, were put to death. The heavy-armed of the Acarnanians, and many of their targeteers, were drawn up on the summit of the mountain, where they stood their ground, and let fly their darts, and striking at them with their spears, wounded the horsemen and slew some horses. But, when they were very near falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonian heavy-armed, they took to flight, and this day about three hundred of them were slain.

After so much success, Agesilaus erected a trophy. And then, marching round the country, he laid it all waste with fire and sword. He even assaulted some of the towns, merely in compliance with the entreaties of the Achæans, but he took not one. And now, as autumn was coming on apace, he marched out of the country.

The Achæans, nevertheless, thought that he had done nothing at all, since he had not made himself master of a single town either by force or voluntary surrender. They begged, therefore, that "if nothing else could be done, he would only stay so long in the enemy's country as to



“hinder them from sowing their corn.” His answer was, that “they are pleading against their own interest. I shall certainly march hither again next summer. The more seed, therefore, they sow, the more desirous, of course, they will be of peace.” Having said thus, he marched off his army, through Ætolia, by such roads as neither a large nor small army could have passed without leave from the Ætolians. However, they suffered him to proceed, for they hoped he would assist them to recover Naupactus. But, when he came to the cape of Rhium, he crossed the sea and returned to Sparta. For the Athenians, who had stationed themselves with a squadron at Oeniadæ, stopped all passage to Peloponnesus from Calydon.

When the winter was over, Agesilaus, in pursuance of his promise to the Achæans, declared an expedition, in the very beginning of spring, against the Acarnanians. The latter had notice of it, and reasoned right, that, as their city lay in the heart of their country, they should suffer a siege as much from those who destroyed their corn, as if they were invested in form. They sent, therefore, ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and made a peace with the Achæans, and an offensive and defensive alliance with the Lacedæmonians. And thus ended the war of Acarnania.

Year before  
Christ 390.

Henceforth the Lacedæmonians judged it by no means safe to march their army against the Athenians or Bœotians, and leave the great and hostile state of Argos, lying on their own frontier, behind their backs: they proclaim, therefore, an

Agesipolis commands in the Argive war.



## BOOK IV.

expedition against Argos. Agesipolis, who knew that he was to command in this expedition, and found the victims favourable which he sacrificed for success, went to Olympia to consult the oracle. He demanded of the god, "Whether, in consistence with piety, he might reject the truce which the Argives would plead?" for the latter would begin to compute its expiration not from the day of the declaration, but from the time when the Lacedæmonians actually broke into their country. The god signified to him, that, "consistently with piety, he might reject it so wrongfully pleaded." From thence, without loss of time, he repaired to Delphi, and there demanded of Apollo, "Whether he judged of the truce in the same manner with his father?" He answered positively to the same purpose. Accordingly Agesipolis put himself at the head of the army, and marched from Phlius, (for there it had assembled, whilst he was on his journey to the oracles), and broke in by the pass of Nemea. But the Argives, when they found themselves unable to make head against him, sent to him, as usual, two heralds with garlands on their heads, alleging that "the truce was not yet expired." Agesipolis, having answered, that "the gods had decided against the justice of their plea," refused to observe it, and marched forwards into the country, and soon caused high perplexity and distress over all the country, and in Argos itself. But the first day they were in Argia, after Agesipolis had supped, and, upon finishing supper, they were making the libation, Neptune shook the



earth. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, who were but just set out from home, joined in chorus, and sung the pæan to the god; but the rest of the troops concluded, that they ought to return home immediately, since Agis formerly, upon the shock of an earthquake, had marched them out of Elis. Agesipolis alleged, that “if the god had shaken the earth when he was only intending to break in, he should have construed it a prohibition; but now, that he actually had broken in, he judged it an exhortation;” and so, the next day, after sacrificing to Neptune, he advanced, though not far, into the country. As Agesilaus had lately commanded in an expedition against Argos, Agesipolis asked the soldiers, how near he had advanced to the walls of the city? how far he had extended his devastations? and then, like the champion in public games who struggles for every prize, he endeavoured to outdo him in every respect. He was once even within reach of darts from the turrets, but then he immediately repassed the trenches that surrounded the walls. And, when most of the Argives were marched into Laconia, he approached so near to the very gates, that they shut them against some Bœotian horsemen who had just desired to be let in, afraid that the Lacedæmonians might rush in along with them; insomuch that those horsemen were compelled to keep clinging under the battlements, like so many bats. And, had not the Cretans at that time been absent on an excursion to Nauplia, many men and horses too must have been shot to death. But after this, when he lay encamped

BOOK IV.



BOOK IV. near Eirctæ, a thunderbolt fell in the camp.  Some were much affrighted, but some were actually killed by the lightning. And, having afterwards a mind to fortify a castle at the entrance of the pass over the Colousa, he sacrificed, and the victims appeared without lobes. Determined by this, he led off the army and dismissed them, having done vast damage to the Argives by an invasion so little expected.

Operations by  
sea.

The war was, in this manner, carried on at land. And I shall now relate the concurrent transactions at sea and the cities on the sea-coast; describing such of them only as are worthy of remembrance, and omitting such as deserve not a particular mention.

Conon.

In the first place, therefore, Pharnabazus and Conon, after beating the Lacedæmonians at sea, sailing round to the isles and the maritime cities, drove out the Lacedæmonian commandants, and gained the hearty good-will of the people, as they placed no garrisons in their citadels, but left them free and independent. Nay, such as only heard of this behaviour, were delighted with and commended it much, and sent cheerfully their hospitable presents to Pharnabazus. For Conon had convinced him, that if he acted thus, “he would be  
“sure of the friendship of all the cities: but, in  
“case he manifested any design to enslave them,  
“then (he added) each single city is able to cut  
“you out a deal of trouble; and the danger is,  
“that all the Greeks, when they see into your  
“schemes, will unite together against you.” Pharnabazus, therefore, was persuaded by him;



and, going on shore at Ephesus, he gave Conon forty ships ; and, having told him to meet him at Sestus, he went, by land, to his own dominions. Dercyllidas, truly an inveterate enemy to Pharnabazus, happening to be at Abydus at the time of the late battle at sea : yet, instead of abandoning his town, as did the other commandants, he fast secured Abydus, and kept it firm to the Lacedæmonians. His first step had been to convene the Abydenians, and to harangue them thus :

“ It is now, ye men of Abydus, in your power,  
 “ as you long have been steady friends to the  
 “ Lacedæmonian state, to prove yourselves their  
 “ actual benefactors. To continue faithful during  
 “ a course of prosperity hath nothing wonderful  
 “ in it ; but, when any set of men continue  
 “ steadily attached to friends in adversity, they  
 “ ought, on that account, to be eternally remem-  
 “ bered. Not that we are in so bad a situation,  
 “ as to be nothing at all, because we have been  
 “ beaten at sea. For formerly, when the Athe-  
 “ nians were the sovereigns of the sea, our state  
 “ was very well able to do good to her friends,  
 “ and harm to her enemies. But, by how much  
 “ the larger is the number of the cities which,  
 “ veering about with fortune, at present desert us,  
 “ by so much will your fidelity be actually the  
 “ more conspicuous. Some persons, it is true,  
 “ may apprehend, that we are in danger here of  
 “ being besieged both by land and sea ; but let  
 “ such reflect, that, as yet, no Grecian fleet  
 “ appears at sea, and that Greece will never suffer  
 “ a fleet of Barbarians to ride masters of the sea.

Speech of  
Dercyllidas.



## BOOK IV.

“ Greece, undoubtedly, will assist herself, and,  
“ consequently, will fight for you.”

The Abydenians, having heard him, were readily, without any reluctance, persuaded. They received, in a friendly manner, the new governants, and invited to their posts such as had absented. But Dercyllidas, so soon as a large body of men, well qualified for service, were assembled in Abydus, passed over to Sestus, which is over-against Abydus, distant from it no more than eight stadia, and collected together all the persons who had been settled by the Lacedæmonians on the lands of the Chersonesus, and as many of the commandants as had been ejected out of the cities in Europe. He received them kindly, telling them, “ they ought not to give way to dejection, but  
“ recall to mind, that even yet, in Asia, which  
“ originally belongs to the king, there are Temnus,  
“ though not a large city, and the Ægians, and  
“ other places in which they might settle, and  
“ disdain submission to the king. Nay, where  
“ (he went on) can you find another place so  
“ strong as Sestus? what town more difficult to  
“ be reduced by siege? since it cannot possibly  
“ be blocked up without both a land and a naval  
“ force.” And, by talking to them in this manner, he preserved them from total dejection.

Pharnabazus, when he found that Dercyllidas had thus secured Abydus and Sestus, sent word to the inhabitants, that “ if they did not send away  
“ the Lacedæmonians, he would make war upon  
“ them;” and, as they were not to be awed by this menace, he sent orders to Conon not to suffer



them to stir by sea, and then he ravaged, in person, the territory of the Abydenians. But, as nothing he did could induce them to surrender, he himself went home, and ordered Conon so to manage the cities in Hellespont, that as large a fleet as possible might be gathered together in the spring. Full of resentment against the Lacedæmonians for the harm they had done him, it was his high ambition to go even to Laconia, and revenge himself to the utmost of his power. They spent the winter, therefore, in making preparations; and, early in the spring, having manned out a numerous fleet and hired a body of auxiliaries, Pharnabazus put to sea, and Conon with him, and sailed through the islands to Melos, and from thence they proceeded towards Lacedæmon. In the first place, making a descent at Pheræ, he laid all the adjacent country waste; and afterwards repeating his descents on the coast, he did them all possible damage. Yet, terrified at a coast where harbours were so scarce, and at the readiness of the people to resist him, added to the danger of wanting provisions, he soon turned back, and standing off, cast anchor at Phænicus of Cythera. But, when such of the Cytherians as guarded the city were afraid of being stormed and taken prisoners, they evacuated their works; and these persons, according to terms granted them by Pharnabazus, were sent over by him into Laconia. He then repaired the fortifications of the Cytherians, and left a garrison there under the command of Nicophobus the Athenian. Having done this, he sailed up to the isthmus of Corinth; and, after



BOOK IV. encouraging the confederates to proceed briskly in the war, and to manifest their zeal for the king, he gave them all the money he had with him, and then departing, sailed immediately home.

The long walls  
of Athens re-  
built by Conon.

But Conon representing to him, that “if he  
“ would put the fleet under his command, he  
“ would furnish it all needful supplies from the  
“ islands, and then, sailing back to Athens, would  
“ rebuild the long walls and the wall round the  
“ Piræus, than which (he assured him) nothing  
“ would vex the Lacedæmonians more. Hereby  
“ too (he added), you yourself, Pharnabazus, will  
“ most highly oblige the Athenians, and take  
“ ample revenge on the Lacedæmonians, for you  
“ will undo, at once, what they have long been  
“ labouring with their highest application.” Pharnabazus, hearing this, readily sent him away to Athens, and furnished him with money to rebuild the walls. Accordingly, on his arrival, he rebuilt great part of the wall, employing his own seamen in the work, advancing wages to carpenters and masons, and defraying every needful expense. The remaining part of it, the Athenians themselves, and the Bœotians and other states, rebuilt voluntarily at the same time.

In the meanwhile the Corinthians, who, by help of the money Pharnabazus left behind, had manned out a fleet and given the command of it to Agathinus, were quite masters by sea in the bay round Achaia and Lecheum. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, manned out a fleet against them, which was commanded by Polemarchus. But, as an engagement came on, in which Polemarchus



was killed, and Pollis, his lieutenant, was also carried ashore wounded, Herippidas takes upon him the command of the ships. However, Proænus the Corinthian, who succeeded Agathinus in the command of the fleet, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedæmonians immediately took possession of it. Teleutias after this took the fleet from Herippidas, and now again he was master of the whole bay.

But the Lacedæmonians having heard, that Conon, at the king's expense, was rebuilding the walls of Athens, and, by the same means, subsisting his fleet, and settling the islands and maritime cities on the continent in a manner most agreeable to the Athenian interest, they imagined, that could they give Teribazus, who was one of the king's generals, an information of these points, they should either bring him over to their own side, or, at least, put a stop to the subsistence of Conon's fleet. And thus resolved, they send Antalcidas to Teribazus, instructing him to inform Teribazus of all these points, and endeavour to make peace between the state of Lacedæmon and the king. The Athenians, aware of the design, send away an embassy, along with Conon, consisting of Hermogenes and Dion, and Callisthenes, and Callimedon. They also invited their confederates to despatch their embassies in company with them. Accordingly, they were sent by the Bœotians, and from Corinth, and from Argos. When all were arrived, Antalcidas told Teribazus, that "he came to solicit a peace between his own constituents and the king, and such a peace as the king himself must be glad of. For the

Negotiations of  
Antalcidas.



## BOOK IV.

“ Lacedæmonians would have no dispute with the  
“ king about the Greek cities in Asia; they would  
“ rest contented, if the islands and other cities  
“ were left free and independent. And why (says  
“ he), when we are thus compliant, should either  
“ the Greeks or the king carry on a war against  
“ us? or why should the king incur so vast an  
“ expense? For, when we no longer lead, it will  
“ be impossible either for the Athenians to make  
“ war upon the king, or for us to do so ourselves,  
“ when the cities are free and independent.”

These words of Antalcidas were heard by Teribazus with high satisfaction; but to the opposite parties they were to continue to be merely words. For the Athenians, in case it was agreed to leave the cities and islands free and independent, were afraid of losing Lemnos, and Imbrus, and Sciros; the Thebans were also afraid they should be obliged to set the cities of Bœotia at liberty; and the Argives were apprehensive of disappointment in their desire to keep as fast hold of Corinth as Argos, if such a treaty and such a peace was made. By this means no terms of peace could be agreed on, and every embassy again went home.

As to Teribazus, he thought it not consistent with his own personal security to make a separate peace with the Lacedæmonians without consulting the king. However, he gave Antalcidas a supply of money to enable the Lacedæmonians to keep a fleet at sea, in order to render a peace quite necessary to the Athenians and their confederates; and he shut up Conon in prison, as one who had injured the king, and was justly



accused by the Lacedæmonians. After this, he made a journey to the king, to tell him what the Lacedæmonians had proposed, and that he had apprehended Conon for his ill behaviour, and to receive orders about his future conduct. The king, indeed, so soon as Teribazus arrives at court, sends Struthes down as governor of the maritime provinces on the coast. And Struthes exerted himself in warm attachment to the Athenians, remembering what damage the dominions of his master had suffered from Agesilaus.

The Lacedæmonians, when they saw that Struthes had turned out an enemy to them, but a friend to the Athenians, send Thimbro to make war against him. And Thimbro, when he had crossed the sea and taken his march from Ephesus, and the cities in the plains of Mæander, Priene, and Leucophrys, and Achilleum, put the dominions of the king to fire and sword. But, in process of time, Struthes having received intelligence, that Thimbro ran over the country in that negligent manner which showed a contempt of his enemies, he sent his cavalry into the plains of Mæander, whom he ordered to ride quite round and drive off every thing they could find. It happened, that Thimbro was now passing the time, after dinner, in the tent of Thersander the musician: for Thersander was not only a good musician, but a good soldier too, since he had been trained at Sparta. Struthes, who perceived the enemy were marching about in a negligent manner, and to be few in number when he first discovered them, rushes at once upon them with a numerous and

Thimbro commands in Asia.



## BOOK IV.

Is killed.

firmly compacted body of horse. Both Thimbros and Thersander were among the first whom they slew. And, after killing them, they soon put the rest of the enemy to flight, and pursuing, made a vast slaughter of them. There were some, indeed, who completed their escape to friendly cities; but there were more who saved themselves by being left behind, and not knowing in time of the engagement. For, very often, and on this occasion too, Thimbros had advanced against the enemy, without giving any signal to the troops to follow. And these things were done in this manner.

Diphridas  
commands in  
Asia.

But when those, who had been exiled from Rhodes by the people, were arrived at Lacedæmon, they represented there, “how impolitic it “would be to continue inactive, whilst the Athe- “nians were reducing Rhodes, and gaining so “great an accession of strength.” The Lacedæmonians, therefore, well apprized, that if the people were masters, all Rhodes would be in the power of the Athenians; but if the rich prevail, it would be in their own; manned out eight ships for their assistance, and appointed Ecclicus to command them. On board these ships they also sent away Diphridas. The latter they ordered to go over into Asia, and there to secure the cities which had adhered to Thimbros, and to take upon him the command of the troops yet remaining, and, reinforcing them with all possible additions, to make war upon Struthes. Diphridas obeyed all his orders; and, amongst other parts of his successful conduct, takes prisoners, Tigranes and



his wife, who was the daughter of Struthes, as they were travelling to Sardis, and for a vast sum of money set them again at liberty. By this money, he was immediately enabled to pay his troops. For Diphridas gave, in every respect, as great satisfaction as Thimbro had given; but, as a general, outdid him far in discipline and vigilant activity. No bodily indulgence ever gained the ascendant over him, but, on the contrary, he gave all his attention to the business in hand. But Ecdicus, after sailing to Cnidus, heard there that the people had the entire possession of Rhodes, and were masters both by land and sea. Nay, they were then out at sea, with a number of triremes double to his own. He, therefore, continued quietly at Cnidus. But the Lacedæmonians, when they found his squadron was too small to give any effectual aid to their friends, ordered Teleutias, with the twelve ships he commanded in the bay along Achaia and Lecheum, to sail round to Ecdicus; and as to Ecdicus, to send him home, whilst himself took all the care he could of such as desired his protection, and did all possible damage to the enemy. Teleutias, when he arrived at Samos, enlarged his fleet with the ships from thence, and proceeded to Cnidus, but Ecdicus returned home.

Teleutias  
at sea.

Teleutias, having now twenty-seven ships, put to sea against Rhodes. But in his course he falls in with Philocrates the son of Ephialtus, who, with thirteen ships, was bound from Athens to Cyprus, to assist Evagoras; and he takes them all. Both parties, on this occasion, were acting in direct contrariety to their own interest. For the Athenians,



BOOK IV. who enjoyed the friendship of the king, were sending this aid to Evagoras, who was at war with the king; and Teleutias, whilst the Lacedæmonians were likewise at war with him, demolished those who were going to a war against him. But Teleutias, having steered back again to Cnidus, and disposed of his captures, proceeded afterwards to Rhodes to succour the friends of Sparta.

Thrasybulus.

The Athenians, growing now apprehensive that the Lacedæmonians might re-establish their power at sea, send out for their annoyance, Thrasybulus, the Styrensian, with forty ships. He was now at sea, but pursued not the auxiliary squadron for Rhodes; judging, that he could not easily hurt the friends of the Lacedæmonians, who were possessed of a fortified place, and had Teleutias ready with his fleet to protect them; and that neither were the Athenians in danger of being reduced by their enemies, as they had possession of cities far superior in number, and had beat them in field of battle. He sailed, therefore, to the Hellespont, and no enemy appearing, he was intent on performing some notable service for the state. In the first place, therefore, having received intelligence, that a rupture had happened between Amadocus, king of the Odrysians, and Seuthes, who possessed the sea-coast of Thrace, he reconciled them to one another, and made both of them friends and confederates to the Athenians; concluding, that when these princes were in friendship, the Greek cities in Thrace would, even though against their inclinations, pay higher regard to the Athenians. All being now right in



those cities, as well as in the cities of Asia, because the king was in friendship with the Athenians, he proceeded to Byzantium, and put to sale the tenth of the ships from Pontus. He also obliged the Byzantines to change their oligarchical government into a democracy, so that the people of Byzantium now beheld, without chagrin, the great number of Athenians at present in the city. Having done these things, and also made friends of the Chalcedonians, he sailed out of the Hellespont. But, though he found in Lesbos, that all the cities, except Mitylene, were in the Lacedæmonian interest, he let them alone, till he had been at Mitylene, where he settled four hundred persons from on board his fleet, and all such exiles from the other cities, as had taken refuge there. Then taking such of the Mityleneans as were best qualified for the service, and inspiring proper hopes into all,—into the Mityleneans, that if he reduced the cities, they should be masters of the whole isle of Lesbos;—into the exiles, that if they would go with him to each city, they would, all of them, be of course enabled to recover their former state;—and into those who went on board his fleet, that would they make all Lesbos friends to Mitylene, they must necessarily acquire abundance of wealth;—with these exhortations, and their united strength, he led them against Methymne. Therimachus, who commanded there for the Lacedæmonians, no sooner knew of the approach of Thrasybulus, than he ordered all the mariners on shore, with whom, and the Methymneans, and the exiles from Mitylene, now at Me-



## BOOK IV.

Year before  
Christ 389.

Thrasybulus  
killed.

Anaxibius.

thymne, he marched out, and met him on the frontier. A battle ensued, in which Therimachus is slain; and the rest flying, a great slaughter is made of them. After this, he brought over some of the cities, and he plundered the territories of such as did not come in, and supplied his soldiers with pay. He was now in a hurry to get to Rhodes; but, in order to put the troops into higher spirits, he collected contributions from other cities; and, proceeding to Aspendus, he anchored in the river Eurymedon. He had received their contribution from the Aspendians, when his soldiers did some damage on their lands. The Aspendians, growing angry at it, and falling upon him in the night, kill him in his tent. In this manner, Thrasybulus, a man of so great accomplishments, ended his days. The Athenians, however, having chosen Argyrius for his successor, sent him to the fleet.

The Lacedæmonians hearing now, that the tenth of the ships from Pontus had been sold by the Athenians, at Byzantium, that they are masters of Chalcedon, and that the other Hellespontine cities having the friendship of Pharnabazus, were in a safe situation, saw plainly, that all their care was needful. They had no reason, however, to blame Dercyllidas; and yet Anaxibius, who was favoured by the Ephori, solicited successfully for himself, and was sent out to be commandant of Abydus. Nay, would they give him money and shipping, he promised to carry on the war against the Athenians, and stop their career of prosperity in the Hellespont. Having assigned him, therefore, three



triremes, and pay for a thousand foreigners, they sent Anaxibius to sea. He was no sooner arrived, than he drew together, by land, his number of foreign troops; he forced over some cities from Pharnabazus; and as the latter, with the aid of the other cities, had invaded the territories of Abydus, he returned the invasion, marched against them, and laid waste their country. Then doubling the number of ships he brought, by manning out three more at Abydus, he fetched into that harbour whatever vessel belonging to the Athenians or their confederates he could catch at sea.

The Athenians, informed of this, and afraid lest all the fine dispositions Thrasybulus had made in Hellespont should be quite ruined, sent out Iphicrates with eight ships, and about twelve hundred targeteers. The greatest number of the latter were the same whom he commanded at Corinth: for when the Argives had made Corinth Argos, they said they had no farther need of them. Iphicrates, in fact, had killed some persons who had been in the Argive interest, and on that account withdrew to Athens, and lived retired. But when he was arrived at the Chersonesus, Iphicrates and Anaxibius at first carried on a piratical war against one another. But, in process of time, Iphicrates perceiving that Anaxibius was marched against Antandros with his foreign troops, and what Lacedæmonians he had, and two hundred heavy-armed Abydenians; and hearing farther, that he had gained Antandros by composition; he suspected, that, after settling a garrison there, he would return the same way, and bring



## BOOK IV.

back the Abydenians to their own city. He, therefore, passed over by night into the least frequented part of the territory of Abydus, and marching up into the mountains, he placed an ambuscade. He ordered the triremes that brought him over, to keep cruising at day-light along the Chersonesus, that it might be judged he was then upon his usual employ of fetching in contributions. Having made these dispositions, every thing fell out just as he expected. For Anaxibius was now on his return, even though the victims at his morning sacrifice were inauspicious. But this he disregarded, since he was to march through a friendly country, and was going to a friendly city. And when he heard, besides, from persons he met, that Iphicrates was sailed towards Proconnesus, he marched with more negligence than before. So long, however, as the troops of Anaxibius were upon the same level ground with himself, Iphicrates rose not from his ambuscade. But, so soon as the Abydenians, who had the van, were got down into the plain near Cremastes, where are the mines of gold, and the rest of the troops were descending the mountain, and Anaxibius, with his Lacedæmonians, was just at the descent, that moment Iphicrates starts up from his place of ambush, and runs full speed towards him. Anaxibius knowing there was no possibility of escape, as he saw his troops were in a narrow road, and extended in a long line forwards, as he judged that those who were gone on could not readily remount the ascent to his aid, and saw plainly that they were all in a panic on the appearance of



the ambuscade, he said to those who were near him—"It is my duty, sirs, to die on this very spot; but do you make the best of your way to a place of safety, before the enemy can charge you." He said these words, and then snatching his shield from the person that carried it, he fights, and is slain on the spot. A favourite boy stood by him to the last, and about twelve of the Lacedæmonian commandants of cities, who were in his company, fought, and died with him. All the rest fled, and were slaughtered in their flight. They pursued them to Abydus. Of the other troops, about two hundred were slain, and about fifty of the Abydenian heavy-armed. But, after this exploit, Iphicrates returned again to the Chersonesus.

Anaxibius  
killed.



BOOK IV.

# HISTORY

OF

## THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

### BOOK V.

Fine Conduct of Teleutias.—The Peace of Antalcidas.—The Mantinean War.—The Olynthian War, and Surprisal of the Citadel of Thebes, by Phæbidas.—Phlius besieged and reduced by Agelilaus.—The Famous and Successful Plot for recovering Thebes.—War between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians.

### BOOK V.

THIS was the state of the war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in the Hellespont.

Year before  
Christ 388.

Ægina invaded.

The people of Ægina had for a long time kept up intercourse with the Athenians. But now, as war was again openly renewed at sea, Eteonicus, who was again in Ægina, empowered them, with the joint consent of the Ephori, to plunder Attica at pleasure. The Athenians, blocked up by them, sent over a body of heavy-armed, commanded by Pamphilus, into Ægina, to invest them with a work of circumvallation, blocking them thus up at land, and with ten ships at sea. Teleutias,



however, who happened about this time to be going round the islands to collect money, having received intelligence of the throwing up this circumvallation, came away to assist the Æginetæ. He, indeed, drove off the ships, but Pamphilus kept fast possession of the work on shore.

But now Hierax arriveth from Lacedæmon to be admiral of the fleet, and accordingly receiveth the command. Teleutias departed for Sparta, and in as happy a manner as his own heart could wish. For when, upon the point of departure, he went down to the water-side, the whole soldiery crowded about him, to shake him by the hand. One was crowning him with a garland, another adorning him with fillets; and, such as came too late, and found him already under sail, threw their garlands into the sea after him, and prayed Heaven to bless him in all his undertakings. I am sensible, indeed, that, in relating such incidents, I give no shining proof of munificence, bravery, or fine conduct. But, by Heaven, I think it worth any man's while to reflect by what methods Teleutias had thus gained the hearts of those whom he commanded. For such behaviour better deserveth our admiration, than any acquisition of wealth or conquest.

Hierax, with the rest of the fleet, sailed again to Rhodes; but he left twelve ships at Ægina, under the command of his lieutenant, Gorgopas. The consequence was, that the Athenian troops were more closely blocked up in their own circumvallation, than their countrymen were in Athens; insomuch, that, five months after, the Athenians



## BOOK V.

having, by express decree, manned out a large number of ships, fetched off the people on this service, and carried them back to Athens. And yet after this they were sadly infested a second time, by the plunderers from Ægina, and by Gorgopas too. They, therefore, man out against the latter thirteen ships, and elect Eunomus to take upon him the command of them.

Antalcidas  
made admiral in  
chief.

Hierax being still at Rhodes, the Lacedæmonians send out Antalcidas to be admiral in chief; judging that, by giving this commission to Antalcidas, they should most sensibly oblige Teribazus. Antalcidas, when he came to Ægina, took away with him the ships under Gorgopas, and proceeded to Ephesus. But from thence he sends back Gorgopas with the twelve ships, to his former station at Ægina, and gave the command of the rest to his own lieutenant, Nicolochus. Nicolochus set sail from Ephesus, to go and assist the citizens of Abydus. But, in his passage, landing upon Tenedos, he laid the country waste, and, after getting a sum of money, he stood away from thence to Abydus. The Athenian commanders, collecting what strength they could from Samothracia and Thasus, and the adjacent places, repaired to the assistance of the Tenedians. But, when they found that Nicolochus was already gone away to Abydus, they put to sea from the Chersonesus, and, with two and thirty sail of their own, blocked him up in Abydus, as he had but twenty-five. Gorgopas, in the mean-time, repassing from Ephesus, falls in with Eunomus; and, sheering off at first, reached the island of Ægina

Gorgopas.



a little before sun-set. He immediately landed his men, and ordered them to eat their suppers: but Eunomus, after a little stay, sheered off. It was now dark night; he, therefore, led the way with his own ship, which carried a light, as is the practice at sea, that the squadron might not disperse. But Gorgopas, having again got his men on board, followed after him by direction of the light, keeping at a proper distance, that he might not be perceived, and, to prevent all alarm, ordering the masters not to shout aloud, but to drop stones for their signals, and all oars to be gently moved: but, so soon as the ships of Eunomus had made land near Zoster, in Attica, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and to fall in amongst them. The crews belonging to the ships of Eunomus were some of them already on shore, some of them were this moment landing, and some were still drawing to land. A battle was fought by moonlight; and in it Gorgopas taketh four of the enemy's ships, which he fastened to his own, and returned with them in tow to Ægina; but the other Athenian ships of this squadron fled, for shelter, into the Piræus.

Chabrias, after this, was sailing out to Cyprus, to the aid of Evagoras, having with him eight hundred targeteers and ten ships. But, taking out at the same time from Athens other ships and some heavy-armed, he landed by night on the isle of Ægina, and with his targeteers sat down in ambuscade, in a hollow, a good way beyond the temple of Hercules. So soon as it was day, as had been previously agreed, the heavy-armed from

Chabrias.



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Athens came ashore, under the command of Di-mænetus, and marched likewise about sixteen stadia beyond the temple, to the place called Tripyrgia. Gorgopas, having heard it, ran down with the Æginetæ, with the soldiers of his own squadron, and the eight Spartans who happened to be with him. He left orders for all persons belonging to the squadron who were free men to follow, so that numbers of them were approaching, each provided with such a weapon as he could get. When the first party had passed by the ambuscade, Chabrias starts up with his targeteers, who immediately attacked and galled them with javelins. The heavy-armed, who had last landed, charged them at the same time. And thus this first party, as they were few in number, were immediately slain, amongst whom was Gorgopas and the Lacedæmonians. When these were killed, all the rest turned about and fled. Of the Æginetæ there perished about an hundred and fifty, and not less than two hundred of the strangers, and sojourners, and mariners, who had run together for aid.

Teleutias sent  
again to the  
fleet.

The Athenians, after this, ranged the sea as quietly as in the midst of peace: for the seamen paid no regard to Eteonicus, though he would have compelled them to go on board, since he had no money to pay them. But, now again, the Lacedæmonians send Teleutias to command, as admiral in chief. The soldiers, when they saw him arrive, were rejoiced above measure. He immediately called them together, and harangued them thus:



“ Here I am again, my fellow-soldiers, but  
“ bring no money with me. And yet, with the  
“ blessing of Heaven, and your hearty concurrence,  
“ I will endeavour to provide abundantly every  
“ article that you can need. Be assured within  
“ yourselves, that so long as I am in command, I  
“ pray for your comfortable subsistence, no less  
“ than for my own. And perhaps it may sur-  
“ prise you to hear me say, that I would rather  
“ want bread myself, than see you want it. But,  
“ by the gods, I would rather choose to be with-  
“ out food two days together, than you should be  
“ without it one. My door, in the former parts of  
“ my command, was constantly opened to any  
“ one that wanted me, and shall be open now.  
“ Insomuch, that when you are enjoying plenty  
“ and abundance, you shall then see my table too  
“ more plentifully provided. But again, when  
“ you behold me enduring cold and heat, and  
“ want of sleep, remember that you are bound in  
“ duty to endure them with me. I would not  
“ subject you to any hardships of this nature,  
“ merely to give you pain, but in order to put it  
“ in your power to reap an higher good. The  
“ community of which we are members, my  
“ fellow-soldiers, and a happy community it is,  
“ hath attained, you well know, the large share of  
“ happiness with which it is blest, not by habitual  
“ sloth, but by an alacrity to endure every toil,  
“ and every danger, for the public welfare. You,  
“ I know it by long experience, were formerly  
“ good men: and now it behoves you to approve  
“ yourselves better men than ever, that we may



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“ unite with pleasure in every toil, and unite with  
“ pleasure too in the enjoyment of every success.  
“ What thing on earth can be so sweet, as to  
“ cajole no man, neither Greek nor Barbarian,  
“ for a precarious pay, but to be able to earn our  
“ own subsistence, and that too by the most  
“ glorious methods? For, in time of war, afflu-  
“ ence at the cost of our foes, be ye well assured,  
“ is the finest provision men can make for them-  
“ selves, as it is the admiration of all mankind.”

In this manner Teleutias spoke. The whole assembly shouted aloud upon him, to issue his orders, since they were ready to obey. He next performed the solemn sacrifice, and then said to them—“ Depart now, my honest souls, and eat  
“ your suppers as usual; then prepare for your-  
“ selves one day’s provision. This done, repair  
“ hither immediately, that we may go whither  
“ Heaven invites us, and arrive in time.” When they were all returned, he ordered them on board, and set sail by night for the harbour of Athens. Sometimes he slackened his course, and ordered them to take a little rest; then he advanced faster, by plying the oars. But in case any one blames him on this occasion, for going out imprudently, with only twelve ships, against a people possessed of such numerous shipping, let such an one reflect on the judicious motives on which he acted. He concluded, that, as Gorgopas was killed, he should find the Athenians keeping little or no guard at all in the harbour; and, though the ships of war should be lying there at anchor, he thought it safer to attack twenty of them in harbour, than



ten of them out at sea. When they were on a cruise, he knew that the seamen lay constantly on board the vessels; but at Athens, he was assured that the captains of the ships always went home to bed, and the seamen too had lodgings on shore. It was on these considerations that he engaged in this attempt.

When he was advanced within five or six stadia of the harbour, he made all stop quietly, and rest themselves for a time. But, at break of day, he led the way into the harbour, and the rest followed. He would not suffer any of his own ships to sink or to damage the trading vessels; but, if they saw a ship of war any where at anchor, he ordered them to disable her for sea, and to fasten all the trading vessels, and such as had cargoes on board, and tow them out to sea; to search also the larger ships, and make all persons prisoners whom they found on board. Nay, some of his people even leaped on shore on the quay, and laying hold on some merchants and masters of vessels, carried them on board their own ships.

In this manner Teleutias successfully conducted the business. Such of the Athenians as were within the houses ran out to learn the meaning of the noise; such of them as were out of doors ran home for their arms; whilst some were posting up to the city with the news. All Athenians, as well the heavy-armed as the horsemen, were now marching down in arms, as if the Piræus was taken. But Teleutias sent away his prizes to Ægina, and ordered three or four of his ships to accompany them thither. With the remainder he proceeded



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along the Attic coast; and, in standing out of the harbour, he took a great number of fishing-boats, and the ferries full of passengers coming in from the islands. When he was got up to the cape of Sunium, he also took some vessels laden with corn, and some with merchandise. After these captures he sailed back to Ægina; and, disposing of his spoils by public sale, he advanced a month's subsistence to his men. Nay, he afterwards continued his cruises, and made prize of every thing he could. By acting in this manner he kept his ships full manned, and preserved the cheerful and prompt obedience of all his people.

Proceedings of  
Antalcidas.

Year before  
Christ 387.

It was at this time that Antalcidas, in the company of Teribazus, returned from the king. He had so conducted his negociations, as to be assured of the king's future concurrence with the Lacedæmonians, if the Athenians and confederates did not acquiesce in the peace which he himself had proposed. But, when he heard that Nicolochus with his squadron was blocked up in Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went by land to Abydus. Resuming there the command of the fleet, he went out to sea by night, having scattered a report that he was sent for by the Chalcedonians. But he went only into the harbour of Percope, where quietly he stationed his ships. His departure was perceived by Dimænetus and Dionysius, and Leontichus, and Phantias, who immediately went in pursuit after him towards Proconesus. And, when they had clearly passed beyond him, Antalcidas returned and came again to Abydus. For he heard that Polyxenus was coming thither with



twenty sail from Syracuse and Italy; and his design was now to join them to his own.

After this, Thrasybulus of Co yttus set sail from Thrace with eight ships to join the rest of the Athenian fleet. But Antalcidas, when the sentinels made a signal that eight ships were in sight, sending the seamen on board twelve of his prime sailers, and ordering their crews to be completed out of the rest of the ships, lay on the watch as much out of view as possible. When they had sailed by, he began a pursuit; they saw him, and fled. He soon reached their slowest vessels with the swiftest of his own; but he had ordered such as came up first with them, not to meddle with the hindermost vessels of the enemy, but to pursue the foremost in flight. And, so soon as he had taken these, the hindermost, seeing their leaders were taken, were so dispirited, that they became easy captures to the slower vessels of the enemy, and every ship was taken.

Antalcidas farther, when the twenty ships from Syracuse came up to him, and all the ships of which Teribazus was master had also joined him from Ionia;—the latter were manned out of the dominions of Ariobarzanes; for Teribazus, by the ties of hospitality, had long been connected with Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus was now, by invitation, gone up to the royal court, where he married the king's daughter;—Antalcidas, I say, by the junction of these ships, which were more than eighty in number, rode master of the sea; insomuch that he stopped the navigation of all



## BOOK V.

Year before  
Christ 386.  
Peace desired  
at Athens.

vessels from Pontus to Athens, and carried them off to the confederates of the Lacedæmonians.

The Athenians now, who saw the enemy's ships so numerous, were highly alarmed, lest they should be warred down as they were before, now that the king was become a confederate with the Lacedæmonians, and they were blocked up at home by the plunderers from Ægina. For these reasons they were sincerely desirous of a peace.

At Sparta.

On the other side, the Lacedæmonians, who kept a brigade in garrison at Lecheum, and another brigade at Orchomenus; who, besides, were keeping a constant guard over the cities firmly attached to them lest they should be taken, and over such as they were diffident of lest they should revolt; who farther were harrassed and harrassing with successive hostilities about Corinth, were sadly tired of the war.

At Argos.

The Argives farther, who found that an expedition was proclaimed against them, and were sensible that their insisting on the computation of the months would avail them nothing, began also heartily to wish for peace.

The king's  
mandate.

Hence it was, that when Teribazus issued out the notification, that all states, who were desirous of a peace on the terms which the king prescribes, should assemble together, they were all soon assembled. And now, in the presence of them all, Teribazus, having first showed them the king's signet, read aloud to them the contents of his mandate, as followeth:

“ Artaxerxes the king thinks it just, that the



“ cities in Asia and the two isles of Clazomenæ  
 “ and Cyprus should be his own ; but, that all  
 “ the rest of the Grecian cities, both small and  
 “ great, should be left free and independent,  
 “ except Lemnos and Imbros, and Sciros ; these,  
 “ as formerly, to continue in subjection to the  
 “ Athenians. And, whatever people refuseth this  
 “ peace, I myself, with such as receive it, shall  
 “ make war against that people, both by land and  
 “ sea, both with ships and with money.”

The ambassadors from the several states, having heard this mandate, sent their report of it to their constituents. All the rest swore absolutely to the observance of it, but the Thebans insisted upon taking the oath in the name of all the Bœotians. Agesilaus positively refused to admit their oath, unless they swore, according to the letter of the king's mandate, that “ every city  
 “ small and great shall be left free and independ-  
 “ ent.” The Theban ambassadors urged in return, they were not empowered to do it. “ Go  
 “ then, said Agesilaus, and consult your principals.  
 “ But tell them, at the same time, from me, that  
 “ if they do not comply, they shall be excluded  
 “ the peace.” Accordingly the ambassadors departed.

The peace of  
Antalcidas.

Agesilaus, because of his long inveteracy against the Thebans, lost no time, but, with the approbation of the Ephori, sacrificed immediately. And, so soon as the victims had a favourable appearance, he passed the frontiers to Tegea. He sent his horsemen to summon in the neighbouring troops ; he sent commanders round to the several states.

The Thebans  
compelled to  
accept it.



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But, before he could march from Tegea, the Thebans were with him, professing that they would leave the cities free and independent. And thus the Lacedæmonians returned home, and the Thebans were obliged to accept the peace, and to leave the cities of Bœotia in freedom and independence.

On another side the Corinthians would not dismiss the garrison of Argives. But Agesilaus sent a notification to the Corinthians, "that if they did not send away the Argives," and to the Argives, "that if they did not evacuate Corinth, he would make war upon them." This menace affrighted them both, and the Argives accordingly marched out, and Corinth became again the city of the Corinthians. The authors of the massacre, indeed, and their accomplices, of their own accord withdrew from the city; but the other citizens readily gave a re-establishment to the former exiles.

When these points were settled, and the states had sworn to the peace which the king prescribed, all the land-armies were disbanded, and all the naval forces were disbanded too. And thus, at length, the first peace was ratified in form between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and confederates, after the war between them, subsequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. But though, through the whole course of the war, the scale had generally turned in favour of the Lacedæmonians, yet they made a greater figure than ever through this peace, which took its name from Antalcidas. For now, assuming the exe-



cution of the peace prescribed by the king, and insisting that the cities should be free, they recovered the alliance of Corinth; they set the cities of Boeotia at liberty from the Thebans, a point which they had long desired; they had put an end to that appropriation which the Argives had made of Corinth by declaring war against them, unless they evacuated that city. All these points being accomplished to their wish, they now came to a determination to chastise such of their confederates as had been intractable during the war, and manifested any good-will to their enemies; and to order them so now, that they should not dare to be refractory in time to come.

In the first place, therefore, they sent to the Mantineans, commanding them "to demolish their walls;" affirming that "nothing less could convince them they would not take side with their enemies." They added, that "they well knew how they had supplied the Argives with corn during the late war; and sometimes, on pretext of truces, had refused to march with them against the enemy; and, even when they did march, were intent on doing them more hurt than good." They told them farther "they were well convinced how much they envied them upon every incident of success, and how heartily they rejoiced if any calamity befell them." A declaration was also made, that "the truce with the Mantineans for thirty years, agreed upon after the battle of Mantinea, expired this present year." But, as the Mantineans

Years before  
Christ 385, 384:  
The Mantinean  
war.



## BOOK V.

refused to demolish their walls, the Lacedæmonians proclaim an expedition against them.

Agesilaus, on this occasion, petitioned the state to excuse his commanding the army; alleging that "the Mantinean community had done many good services to his father in the war against Messene." Agesipolis, therefore, led out the army, notwithstanding that his father Pausanias too had always been in high friendship with the most popular men of Mantinea. So soon as he had entered the country, in the first place he laid it waste. But, as even yet they refused to demolish their walls, he dug a trench in circle quite round the city, one moiety of the army sitting down before the city with the arms of those who were digging, whilst the other moiety carried on the work. When the trench was finished, he also erected, without molestation, a circular wall quite round the city. But, finding there was abundance of corn within the place, as the last year had been a season of great plenty; and thinking it would be judged an hardship to harrass both the Lacedæmonians and the confederate troops with a tedious siege, he dammed up the river, and a very large one it is, that runs through the city. The channel being thus dammed up, the water swelled above the foundations of the houses and the city-walls. The lower brickwork was soon rotted by the wet, and shrunk under the upper buildings, by which means the city-walls cracked, and afterwards were ready to tumble. For some time they underpropped them with timber, and made use of all



their art to keep them from falling. But, when they found they must be overpowered by the water, and were afraid, lest a breach being made by the tumbling of any part of the wall, they should be taken sword in hand, they at length offered to demolish their walls. The Lacedæmonians refused to accept this condition now, unless they would also settle in villages. The Mantineans, judging there was no avoiding it, agreed to comply. But to such of them, as, from their long connexion with the Argives, and their great influence over the people, feared they should be put to death, Agesipolis, at the earnest request of his father, granted their lives (and they were sixty in number), in case they withdrew themselves from Mantinea. On both sides of the road, beginning from the very gates of Mantinea, the Lacedæmonians ranged themselves with their spears in their hands, to take a view of such as were withdrawing; and, though they hated them, yet refrained themselves from any abuse much easier than did the oligarchical party at Mantinea. But be this only mentioned as a signal proof of their habitual obedience to their commanders.

After this the walls were demolished, and the Mantinean country was now settled in four villages, in the same manner as it had been formerly inhabited. At first, it is true, the Mantineans were highly dissatisfied, when thus obliged to pull down the houses they had built for their own convenience, and to erect new ones. But, when the wealthier of them were settled on their estates which lay round the villages, when they

Y  
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## BOOK V.

were ruled by an aristocracy, and rid of their turbulent demagogues, they grew delighted with the change. And the Lacedæmonians sent them, not indeed one person to command the troops of the four, but a separate commander to every village. They afterwards marched, upon summons, from the villages with more cheerfulness than they had ever done when under a democratical government. And in this manner were things brought about in regard to Mantinea, mankind having learned one piece of wisdom by it, never to let a river run through their walls.

Year before  
Christ 383.  
The affair of  
Phlius.

The exiles from Phlius, perceiving the Lacedæmonians were now examining into the behaviour of their several confederates during the war, thought it the proper season to apply for themselves. They went to Lacedæmon, and represented there, that "so long as they were in Phlius, the citizens received the Lacedæmonians within their walls, and marched in their company wherever they led them. But no sooner had the people of Phlius ejected them, than they absolutely denied to march at their summons, and refused to the Lacedæmonians alone, of all men living, admittance into their city." When the Ephori had heard this representation, they judged it deserving of their attention. They sent therefore to the state of Phlius, remonstrating that "the exiles were friends to the Lacedæmonian community, and, for no offence at all, had been exiled their country." They insisted upon it, therefore, "as a point of justice, that, without compulsion, and by mere voluntary act, they



“ should grant the restoration of these exiles.” The Phliasians, having heard all this, conceived a suspicion, that some of their own citizens might open the gates, should the Lacedæmonians march against them. For many relations of these exiles were now in the city, who, beside their natural good-will toward them, were desirous (as is generally the case in most communities), to work some change in the society, and were very eager for the recal of the exiles. Moved, therefore, by such apprehensions, they passed a decree for the re-admission of the exiles, “ all their real estates to be immediately restored, and the value of such as had been sold to be returned to the purchasers out of the public treasure; and, in case any dispute arose, the point to be determined by due course of law.” These resolutions were carried, at this time, in favour of the exiles from Phlius.

Ambassadors were now arrived at Lacedæmon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. The Ephori, having been informed of the reason of their coming, introduced them into a grand assembly of themselves and the confederates, where Cligenes the Acanthian spoke as followeth:

Year before  
Christ 382.  
The Olynthian  
war.

“ Lacedæmonians, and ye their confederates, an event of vast importance hath lately taken place in Greece, of which we suppose you are quite unapprized. There can, however, be very few amongst you, who know not that Olynthus is the greatest city on the coast of Thrace. These Olynthians, therefore, have prevailed with some

Speech of  
Cligenes.



## BOOK V.

“ other cities to unite with them in point of laws  
 “ and political administration: and then they  
 “ took into their union some larger cities. After  
 “ this they endeavoured to free the cities of  
 “ Macedonia from their subjection to Amyntas,  
 “ king of the Macedonians. Having succeeded  
 “ with the nearest of these cities, they proceeded  
 “ with rapidity to do the same by the more  
 “ distant and the larger. And when we came  
 “ away, they were masters of a great number of  
 “ them, and even of Pella the capital of Mace-  
 “ donia. We have, moreover, intelligence, that  
 “ Amyntas hath been forced successively to quit  
 “ his cities, and is only not driven out from the  
 “ whole of Macedonia.  
 “ To us Acanthians also, and to the Apollonians,  
 “ these Olynthians have likewise notified their  
 “ pleasure, that, unless we engage to act in con-  
 “ federacy with them, they will make war upon  
 “ us. But for our parts, Lacedæmonians, we  
 “ desire still to live under our own established  
 “ laws, and to persevere as free as we have  
 “ hitherto been. And yet, unless somebody con-  
 “ descends to assist us, we must, of necessity,  
 “ submit to their will and pleasure. They are  
 “ possessed, at this very time, of a body of heavy-  
 “ armed not less than eight hundred, and of a  
 “ body of targeteers in a much larger number;  
 “ and their cavalry, if we should be obliged to  
 “ join them, will amount to more than a thousand.  
 “ We, farther, left behind us at Olynthus am-  
 “ bassadors from the Athenians and Bœotians.  
 “ And we hear that the Olynthians are come to a



“ resolution to send back with them ambassadors  
“ to these several states to perfect an alliance  
“ offensive and defensive. If, therefore, so great  
“ an accession be made to the present strength  
“ of the Athenians and the Thebans, consider,  
“ Lacedæmonians, whether you will find them,  
“ for the future, so tractable as they ought to be.

“ Since, farther, they are already masters of  
“ Potidæa on the isthmus of Pallene, you must  
“ take it for granted, that all the cities within  
“ that isthmus must, of course, submit to the  
“ Olynthians. But one particular and unquestion-  
“ able proof may be given you, that these cities  
“ already are most grievously alarmed. For,  
“ though they bear an irreconcilable hatred to  
“ the Olynthians, yet they durst not send am-  
“ bassadors along with us to join in representing  
“ these things to you.

“ Consider again of how much inconsistency  
“ you must be guilty, if you, whose chief study  
“ it is to prevent the union of Bœotia, should  
“ slight the conjunction of so great a power; a  
“ power, that will show itself considerable indeed  
“ not only at land, but even at sea. For what  
“ can hinder the men from becoming so, who  
“ have timber of their own growth for the building  
“ of ships, who receive tribute from abundance of  
“ sea-ports and from abundance of trading towns,  
“ and who, from the fertility of their country,  
“ abound in people? And more than this, the  
“ Thracians, who have no king, are their nearest  
“ neighbours, and have already begun to pay



## BOOK V.

“ great court to these Olynthians. And should  
“ they submit to receive their law, the latter will  
“ acquire a vast accession of power by it. And,  
“ by necessary consequence, it must follow, that  
“ they then will seize, for their own, the gold  
“ mines in the mountains of Pangæus.

“ We tell you nothing here, but what hath  
“ been talked of a thousand times by the people  
“ of Olynthus. And what need is there to add,  
“ how highly they are elevated upon it? The  
“ Author of our nature hath perhaps so framed  
“ mankind, that their ambition must keep in-  
“ creasing with their power.

“ We are only, Lacedæmonians and confede-  
“ rates, to make you a just report of the present  
“ state of affairs. It behoveth you to consider,  
“ whether or no they deserve your attention.  
“ We are bound, however, to assure you of one  
“ important truth, that the power of the Olyn-  
“ thians, be it actually as great as we have repre-  
“ sented, is not yet too mighty for resistance.  
“ For even the cities, which, against their incli-  
“ nations, are at present with them, will revolt  
“ the very moment an army taketh the field  
“ against them. But, if they enter into closer  
“ connexions with them, by intermarriages and  
“ reciprocal acquisitions, which are, at present,  
“ the points in agitation; and then grow con-  
“ vinced, that it is most for their interest to  
“ adhere to the strongest party, (as, for instance,  
“ the Arcadians, when they march with you,  
“ preserve what is their own, and plunder every



“ body else), then, perhaps, it may be impossible  
 “ to reduce within due bounds this growing  
 “ power.”

These things being said, the Lacedæmonians referred the consideration of them to the confederates, and ordered them to consult and report what they thought most conducive to the interest of Peloponnesus and the whole confederacy. And now a majority of them voted for the march of an army, those especially who had a mind to ingratiate themselves with the Lacedæmonians. It was at length decreed, “ to demand their  
 “ quotas from the several states, to form a body  
 “ of ten thousand men.” Clauses were inserted in the decree, that, “ instead of men, any state  
 “ might be at liberty to advance a sum of money,  
 “ three oboles\* of Ægina, instead of a man; and,  
 “ if any furnished horse, the expense of every  
 “ horseman should be deemed equivalent to the  
 “ pay of four of the heavy-armed. But, if any  
 “ refused to concur in the service, the Lacedæmo-  
 “ nians are empowered to lay a fine of a stater† a  
 “ day upon them for every man.” After these points were decreed, the Acanthians rose up again and declared, that “ these, indeed, were very fine  
 “ decrees, but could not soon be carried into  
 “ execution.” They said, therefore, “ it would  
 “ be highly expedient, whilst this force was  
 “ assembling, to send away immediately some  
 “ proper person to command, at the head of what  
 “ troops could march at once from Lacedæmon,  
 “ and any of the other states. For, if this were

\* About six-pence English. † One pound nine-pence sterling.



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“ done, the cities not yet gone over would stand  
 “ their ground, and those already under compul-  
 “ sion would readily revolt.” This proposal  
 being also approved, the Lacedæmonians send  
 away Eudamidas, and with him the Spartans  
 newly enfranchised, the troops of the neighbour-  
 hood, and the Sciritæ, about two thousand in all.  
 Eudamidas, however, at his departure, begged of  
 the Ephori, that Phœbidas, his brother, might  
 assemble the rest of the army destined for this  
 service, and bring them up after him. As to  
 himself, so soon as he arrived in Thrace, he sent  
 garrisons round to such of the cities as petitioned  
 for them, and by a voluntary surrender recovered  
 Potidæa, which had been for a time confederate  
 with the Olynthians. He afterwards marched  
 from Potidæa to commence hostilities, which he  
 conducted in the manner suitable to a commander  
 who had the inferior force.

So soon as the troops destined to follow Euda-  
 midas were assembled in a body, Phœbidas put  
 himself at their head, and began the march. On  
 their arrival at Thebes, they encamped without the  
 city, near the Gymnasium. The Thebans were  
 now in sedition, and Ismenias and Leontiades were  
 generals of the state. These two were enemies to  
 one another, and each was at the head of his own  
 faction. Ismenias, who hated the Lacedæmonians,  
 never once came near Phœbidas. But Leontiades  
 abundantly caressed him; and, when he had got  
 his heart, addressed him thus:

Speech of  
 Leontiades.

“ You have it, Phœbidas, this very day in your  
 “ power, to do the highest service to your country.  
 “ If you will only follow me with your heavy-armed,



“ I will introduce you into the citadel of Thebes.  
 “ And, the citadel once secured, assure yourself,  
 “ that Thebes will be entirely in the power of the  
 “ Lacedæmonians, and of us your friends. A  
 “ proclamation is already gone out, you know it  
 “ well, that no Theban shall march with you  
 “ against the Olynthians. But do you only  
 “ execute what I advise, and we will immediately  
 “ send away with you a numerous body of cavalry  
 “ too. And thus, with a formidable army, you  
 “ will march up to reinforce your brother; and,  
 “ before he can reduce Olynthus, you yourself  
 “ shall have reduced Thebes, a city of far more  
 “ importance than Olynthus.”

Phœbidas, having listened to him, was quite in  
 a rapture. He was fonder of distinguishing him-  
 self by some grand exploit, than of life itself.  
 But then he was not a man that could reason far,  
 nor remarkable for any depth of thought. He  
 soon assented to the proposal, and Leontiades bade  
 him have his troops in motion, as if he had  
 decamped, and was for continuing his march.  
 “ I’ll be with you again,” said Leontiades, “ at  
 “ the proper time, and will conduct you myself.”  
 Whilst, therefore, the senate was sitting in consul-  
 tation in the portico of the forum, because the  
 women were celebrating, in the Cadmea, the rites  
 of Ceres, and scarce a creature could be seen in  
 the streets, since it was about noon, in the heat of  
 summer, Leontiades returneth on horseback, makes  
 Phœbidas file secretly off, and introduceth him  
 into the citadel. Having thus put Phœbidas and

The citadel of  
 Thebes sur-  
 prised by Phœ-  
 bidas.



## BOOK V.

his party in possession of the place, given him the key of the gates, and enjoined him to give no person admittance, without a pass from him, he went his way directly to the senate. He entered in, and said :

“ The Lacedæmonians, gentlemen, are in possession of the citadel, but let not that alarm you. They profess themselves enemies to no man, who is not fond of war. But, as general of the state, and by virtue of the power lodged in me by the laws to apprehend all traitors, I now apprehend this Ismenias, as a public enemy. And you, who are officers in the army, and all of you whose duty it is, I order to secure him, and convey him you know whither.”

The conspirators were ready at hand, and obeyed it, and took Ismenias into their custody. But such as knew nothing of the plot, and were of the opposite party to Leontiades, fled some of them immediately out of the city, being afraid for their lives ; whilst others withdrew at first to their own homes : but hearing afterwards that Ismenias was made prisoner in the Cadmea, all those who were of the same party with Androclides and Ismenias, to the number of four hundred persons, made the best of their way to Athens.

When these things were done, they chose another general, in the room of Ismenias. But Leontiades set out immediately for Lacedæmon. He found there the Ephori and every citizen of Sparta in high indignation against Phœbidas, for having presumed to act in this manner without consulting



the state. Agesilaus, it is true, represented, that  
“ if he had acted to the public detriment, he  
“ ought to be punished ; but, if he had served the  
“ public, it was an old established law, that his  
“ own good intentions sufficiently authorized  
“ him. We should, therefore, consider first, said  
“ he, whether what hath been done, hath been  
“ serviceable to the state or not.” Leontiades,  
however, being introduced, on his arrival, to the  
council of state, spoke thus :

“ Your ownselves, Lacedæmonians, have for  
“ ever been declaring, that the Thebans were your  
“ constant enemies, even before the last transac-  
“ tions. You have for ever seen them exerting  
“ their friendship towards your foes, and exerting  
“ their enmity against your friends. Did they  
“ not refuse to march with you against the Athe-  
“ nian people, your implacable enemy, when they  
“ had seized the Piræus? And did they not make  
“ war against the Phocians, merely because the  
“ latter were benevolently inclined to you? Nay,  
“ no sooner had they learned that you were going  
“ to make war upon the Olynthians, than they  
“ struck up a confederacy with them. Time was  
“ you were attentive to all their motions, and  
“ alarmed at hearing they were extending their  
“ power in Bœotia. But all alarms are now at an  
“ end ; you no longer have any reason to fear the  
“ Thebans. Henceforth, a small scytale will suf-  
“ fice to keep every thing there in all regular and  
“ needful obedience to yourselves, provided you  
“ show the same zeal for us as we have manifested  
“ for you.”

Speech of  
Leontiades.



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Ismenias put to death.

After hearing him, the Lacedæmonians decreed “to keep fast possession of the citadel, now that it was seized, and to proceed to the trial of Ismenias.” Their next step was, to send judges to try him, three from Lacedæmon, and one from every state, as well small as great, in the Lacedæmonian league. When these judges were assembled, and had taken their seats in court, an accusation was preferred against Ismenias, that “he was in the interest of Barbarians, and had entered into the hospitable ties with the Persian, with no good design in regard to Greece; that he had received a share of the money from the king; and that he and Androclides were principal authors of all the confusion in Greece.” He made his defence against every part of the accusation, but could not convince his judges, that he had not been a very intriguing and mischievous man. He was accordingly condemned to die, and suffered death. The faction of Leontiades continued now to be masters of Thebes, and outstripped command in the officiousness of their seal to serve the Lacedæmonians.

Olynthian war.

After these things were brought about, the Lacedæmonians, with much more alacrity than ever, sent away the army against Olynthus. They give the command of this army to Teleutias, and all the states furnished their quotas towards ten thousand men, to march away with him; and scytales were circulated to the confederate cities, ordering them to obey Teleutias, according to the decree of the confederates. Each separate people in the league, with cheerfulness accompanied



Teleutias. They were sure Teleutias would never be ungrateful to those who did him any service. And the Theban state, as he was the brother of Agesilaus, sent away with him heavy-armed and horsemen. Though in a hurry to reach his post, yet he marched but slowly, always careful not to hurt any friends in his march, and to enlarge his numbers as much as possible. He sent messengers before him to Amyntas, and desired him to hire a body of mercenaries, and to lay out his money among the neighbouring kings, to purchase their aid, if he really had a mind to recover his dominions. He sent also to Derdas, king of Elymia, admonishing him that the Olynthians had demolished the greater power of Macedonia, and will not refrain from doing the same by a lesser power, unless a stop be put to their insolence. Acting in this manner, he arrived at length, with a very numerous army, on the lands of the confederacy. And when he had made his entry into Potidæa, he there marshalled his troops, and then took the field. But, during his approach to Olynthus, he set nothing on fire, he committed no ravage; judging, that if he did such things, he should embarrass both his own approach and retreat. When he should be marching back, he judged it would be the proper time to cut down the trees, and block up the roads against the enemy that might follow his rear. When he was advanced within<sup>o</sup> ten stadia of Olynthus, he made the army halt. He was himself on the left; and

<sup>o</sup> About a mile.



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thus it happened, that he appeared before the gates, through which the enemy sallied. The rest of the confederate-troops were drawn up on the right. He also posted on the right, the Lacedæmonian and Theban horse, and what Macedonian cavalry was at hand. He kept Derdas and his four hundred horse on his own flank, because he admired this body of horse, and had a mind to compliment Derdas for joining him with so much alacrity. When the enemy was come out of Olynthus, and had formed into order of battle under the wall, their cavalry closed firm together, and rode down on the Lacedæmonian and Bœotian horse. They dismounted Polycharmus, the Lacedæmonian officer, gave him several wounds as he lay on the ground, and slew others; and at length compell the horse in the right wing to fly. The horse being thus first in flight, the foot also drawn up nearest to them began to give way. The whole army was now in great danger of defeat, had not Derdas, with his own cavalry, rode up directly to the gates of Olynthus; and Teleutias, with the left wing, marched after him in excellent order. The Olynthian horse had no sooner perceived these motions, than they were afraid of being shut out of the town. They wheeled about, therefore, with all speed, and came on a gallop towards the gates. And now Derdas slew a vast number of these horsemen, as they were galloping by him. The infantry of the Olynthians retired into the city; and very few of them were killed, since they were so near the walls. But, after a trophy was erected, and the victory



remained with Teleutias, he retreated and cut down the trees. BOOK V.

When the campaign was over for the summer, he dismissed the troops of Macedonia, and those of Derdas. The Olynthians, however, were making frequent excursions against the cities confederate with the Lacedæmonians, carrying off much plunder, and slaughtering the people. And very early in the succeeding spring, the Olynthian horse, to the number of six hundred, had made an excursion against Apollonia about noon, and were dispersed plundering about the country. That very morning, Derdas, with his own horse, had marched into Apollonia, where he stopped to refresh himself and his men. When he beheld the enemy's incursion, he made no bustle at all. His horses were ready; the riders were armed and mounted. And so soon as the Olynthians, in a contemptuous manner, entered the suburb, and rode up to the very gates of the town, he then sallied out in excellent order. The Olynthians no sooner saw him, than they took to flight. And Derdas, when once at their backs, continued the pursuit and slaughter of them for ninety stadia, till he had chased them to the very walls of Olynthus. Derdas was said this day to have slain eighty of their horsemen. From this time, the enemy were obliged to keep more within their walls, and employ themselves entirely in cultivating the small tract of country that was yet in their power.

Some time after, when Teleutias was again in

† About nine miles.



## BOOK V.

the field against the Olynthians, in order to demolish any tree yet standing, and to complete the ruin of their country, the Olynthian horse, who had sallied out, and came marching quietly forwards, passed the river that runs near the city, and then again kept quietly advancing towards the enemy's army. When Teleutias saw them, he was vexed at their assurance, and ordered Tlemonides, who commanded the targeteers, to march full speed against them. But the Olynthians, when they saw the targeteers running forwards, wheeled about, retreated quietly, and repassed the river. The targeteers kept following in a very courageous manner, and like men, who were driving fugitives before them, passed the river too in pursuit. But here the Olynthian horse, who judged they had now gotten them fast, face about and attack them, and slew Tlemonides himself, and more than a hundred of his men. Teleutias no sooner saw this, than, quite mad with anger, he caught up his arms, and led the heavy-armed towards them, ordering the targeteers and horsemen to continue the pursuit, and lose no ground. By this means, many of the army, having unadvisedly continued the pursuit too near the walls, found a great difficulty in retreating again. They were galled with darts from the turrets; they were obliged to move off in the most disorderly manner, guarding themselves from the darts that came pouring upon them. And now the Olynthians ride down upon their horse, and their targeteers made what haste they could to assist them. At length, the heavy-armed sallied out, and charge the main-body of



their enemy, who were all in confusion. And here Teleutias is killed fighting. He was no sooner dead, than all about him gave way. No man any longer stood his ground. The whole army fled; some towards Spartolus; some towards Acanthus; some to Apollonia; but most of them to Potidæa. As thus they were fleeing different ways, the pursuit by as many different ways was continued after them, in which a vast number of men, and indeed the very flower of this mighty army, perished. Such dreadful calamities as these, should, in my judgment, be a lesson to mankind, to guard against anger; nay, even when they are only to chastise their own domestics. For it frequently happens, that when masters are too angry, they do more hurt to themselves, than to those they want to punish. But to attack an enemy in the heat of anger, and not with judgment, is the saddest fault of which we can be guilty. For anger foreseeeth no consequences at all; whereas judgment considereth as much its own preservation as doing harm to an enemy.

Teleutias killed.

When the news of this defeat was brought to the Lacedæmonians, they determined, after mature consultation, to march up a considerable force, in order to damp the great exultation of the enemy, and lest all hitherto done should have been done in vain. Having thus determined, they send away Agesipolis, the king, to take upon him the command, attended, as Agesilaus was in Asia, by thirty Spartans. Many of the bravest soldiers in the neighbourhood of Sparta went out with him volunteers, as did those strangers distinguished by the title

Agesipolis sent to command.



## BOOK V.

of Trophimi, and the bastards of the Spartans; a gallant party indeed, and possessed of all the fine accomplishments of Spartans. Volunteers, farther, from the confederates joined in the expedition; and the horsemen of Thessaly, who had a mind to recommend themselves to the notice of Agesipolis. Amyntas also, and Derdas, came in with more alacrity than ever. And Agesipolis, thus executing his commission, was marching against Olynthus.

The affair of  
Phlius.

The citizens of Phlius, who had been highly commended by Agesipolis for their handsome and prompt contribution towards his expedition, began now to imagine, that as Agesipolis was gone abroad, Agesilaus would not take the field against them, since it was not probable that both kings could, at the same time, be absent from Sparta; and, therefore, in a very haughty manner, they refused justice to the exiles lately restored. In vain did these exiles insist, that all disputes should be determined before impartial judges, for they compelled them to submit to the determinations of their own judges at Phlius. And when the returning exiles demanded—"What justice could  
" be expected, when the very persons who had  
" injured them presided in the courts?" they gave not the least attention to them. The persons, therefore, thus aggrieved, go afterwards to Lacedæmon with accusations against the city of Phlius. Some other Phliasiens also came with them, representing that many of the citizens acknowledged the injustice of such behaviour. The Phliasiens were nettled at these proceedings,



and laid a fine upon all those who went to Lacedæmon without public authority. The persons on whom these fines were laid, were afraid to return home. They continued at Sparta, representing, that “ the authors of all this violence “ were the same persons who had driven them “ from their homes, and excluded the Lacedæmonians too. The very same persons, who had “ bought their effects, and by violence refused to “ restore them, had now exerted their influence “ to have a fine laid upon them, for repairing to “ Lacedæmon, that no one for the future might “ presume to go thither, and report what was “ doing at Phlius.” As this behaviour of the Phliasians was not to be justified, the Ephori proclaim an expedition against them. And Agesilaus was not at all displeased with this resolution of the state, since Podanemus, who, with his family, had been the hospitable friend of his father, Archidamus, was in the number of exiles who had returned; and Procles, the son of Hipponicus, had likewise been his own. So soon, therefore, as the sacrifices were auspicious, he dallied not, but began his march. Many embassies met him, and offered him money to stop. His answer was, “ he “ was now in the command, not to commit injustice himself, but to vindicate the oppressed.” The last embassy of all declared “ they would “ submit to any conditions, provided he would “ not enter their country.” He replied, that “ he “ could put no trust in mere speeches; they had “ already broken their words; he could trust to “ nothing, but a positive act.” Being now asked,

Year before  
Christ 380,



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what act he meant? he answered, "the very same  
" you did once before, and received no damage at  
" all from us by doing it." This was, to deliver  
up their citadel. But, as they refused to comply,  
he marched into their territory, and throwing up  
a circumvallation, laid siege to their city.

It was now frequently said by the Lacedæmo-  
nians, that "for the sake of a few of his favourites,  
" Agesilaus was going to ruin a city that con-  
" tained more than five thousand men;" for to  
make them believe that this was so, the Phliasians  
were ever declaiming it to them from the walls.  
Agesilaus, however, contrived a scheme to con-  
vince them it was false. For, whenever any of  
the Phliasians, that were either friends or relations  
to the exiles, escaped out of the city to the camp,  
he ordered the Lacedæmonians to invite them to  
their tents, and to furnish such of them as had a  
mind to go through the exercises with them, with  
all proper accommodations. He enjoined them  
farther to provide them with arms, and without  
hesitation to procure such arms upon credit.  
They did all this, and furnished out above a thou-  
sand Phliasians, whose bodies were in fine exercise,  
who were perfectly well disciplined, and most  
expert in the use of arms. At length the Lacedæ-  
monians were obliged to confess, that "it was  
" well worth their while to gain such brave fellow-  
" soldiers as these." And Agesilaus was thus  
employed.

Death of  
Agesipolis.

In the mean-time, Agesipolis, having with all  
expedition crossed Macedonia, showed himself in  
battle-array before the walls of Olynthus. And



when nobody sallied out against him, he laid waste all that territory which had hitherto escaped devastation; and marching towards the cities confederate with Olynthus, destroyed their corn. He made also an assault upon Torone, and took it by storm. Thus busied as he was in the heat of summer, he is attacked by a burning fever. And as he had lately visited the temple of Bacchus, at Aphyte, he conceived a violent longing after the shady bowers, and the clear and cooling streams. He was, therefore, conveyed thither yet alive; but on the seventh day after he was seized, he expired without the verge of the temple. His body was preserved in honey, and brought home to Sparta, where it was interred with regal pomp. Agesilaus, when he heard of his death, was not, as some would imagine, secretly glad at the death of a competitor, but he shed tears abundantly, and sadly regretted the loss of his companion. For, when they are at Sparta, both kings are lodged in the same apartment. And Agesipolis was qualified in all respects to entertain Agesilaus with his discourses about youthful exercises, about hunting and riding, or the more gay and lively topics. And what is more, when they were thus lodged together, he constantly paid high respect to Agesilaus, as his senior, in the manner that became him. The Lacedæmonians send away Polybiades to command in his stead against Olynthus.

Agesilaus had been a longer time before Phlius, than it was said their provisions could have lasted. But of such excellent use it is to refrain from indulging the belly, that the Phliasians, who had

Year before  
Christ 379.  
Phlius.



## BOOK V.

made a decree, that only half the usual allowance should be daily issued out, and had observed this decree, were enabled to hold out twice as long as had been expected. And a resolute spirit sometimes gains an entire ascendant over despondency; insomuch, that one Delphio, a person who had made a great figure at Phlius, being supported by a party of three hundred Phliasians, was able at any time to stop the mouths of such as cried out for peace, was able farther to apprehend and secure in safe custody, such as were not to be trusted. He could also force the multitude to mount regularly upon guard, and, by constantly going the rounds, kept them steady in their posts. Nay, he frequently sallied out with his select party, and drove such of the enemy as were guarding the circumvallation from their posts. But when at last this select party, after the strictest inquiry, found all the corn in the city to be spent, they then sent to Agesilaus, desiring a truce for an embassy to go to Lacedæmon; adding, "they had come to a resolution to surrender the city on whatever conditions the magistrates at Lacedæmon should prescribe." Agesilaus was angry that they should slight him in this manner. He, therefore, sent to his friends at Lacedæmon, and by them solicited so effectually, that the terms of surrender for Phlius were left to his own determination: he, however, granted a truce for the embassy. He now kept a stricter guard than ever upon the besieged, that none of them might make their escape. But, notwithstanding all his vigilance, Delphio, accompanied by a scoundrel fellow, a servant of his own, who had



frequently plundered the besiegers of their arms, got away by night. When the messengers arrived from Lacedæmon, with a permission from the state to Agesilaus to settle the terms as he thought most advisable, he declared them thus; that  
 “ fifty persons of the late exiles, and fifty  
 “ Phliasians who had not been exiled, should first  
 “ agree upon a report, what persons deserved to  
 “ be saved and what persons ought to be put to  
 “ death; and then should draw up a body of laws  
 “ for their future observation.” And, whilst these things were settling, he left a garrison in Phlius, and had six months’ pay secured to them. Having done this, he dismissed the confederates and marched back himself with the domestic troops to Sparta. The whole time of these transactions about Phlius was one year and eight months.

Polybiades now compelled the Olynthians, who were grievously afflicted with famine, since they could neither fetch in provisions by land nor import them by sea, to send an embassy to Lacedæmon to sue for peace. The ambassadors arrived there with full powers, and agreed “ to have the  
 “ same friend and the same foe with the Lacedæ-  
 “ monians, to follow them as their leaders, and  
 “ be their confederates.” And, having sworn to observe these articles, they returned to Olynthus.

End of the  
Olynthian war.

When every thing had thus succeeded with the Lacedæmonians, so that now the Thebans and the rest of the Bœotians were entirely submissive, the Corinthians adhered most faithfully to them, and the Argives were humbled, as their plea about computing the months could no longer avail them;

Turn of affairs.



## BOOK V.

as the Athenians farther were left quite by themselves; and they had sufficiently chastised their own disaffected confederates; their empire over Greece seemed, at present, to be established with lustre and security. Many instances, however, might be brought from the histories both of Greeks and Barbarians, that the gods neglect not the punishment of men who behave irreligiously, or commit unrighteous acts; but, at present, I shall stick close to my subject. For even those Lacedæmonians, who had sworn to leave the cities in freedom and independence, and yet had seized the citadel of Thebes, were chastised for their crime by the very people they had injured, though hitherto superior to all their enemies. And, as to those very Thebans, who had led them into the citadel, and taken it in their heads to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, that, under their protection, they might play the tyrant, no more persons than seven exiles were enow to wreak ample vengeance upon them. I shall relate in what manner it was done.

Plot to recover  
Thebes.

There was one Phyllidas, who served as secretary to the generals of the state in the interest of Archias, and was highly esteemed for the faithful execution of his office. This man was, by business, carried to Athens, where Mello, one of the Thebans who had refuged himself at Athens and was his old acquaintance, gets a conference with him. He asked him abundance of questions, how Archias executed his office? and Philip continued to play the tyrant? and discovering that Phyllidas abhorred all the management at Thebes even worse



than himself, after proper pledges of fidelity to one another, they agreed about the exact method of executing the plot. In consequence of this, Mello, taking with him six<sup>a</sup> of the properest persons amongst the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, goeth, in the first place, by night into the territory of Thebes. In the next place, having passed the day in some unfrequented spot, at evening they came to the gates, as if returning amongst the latest of those who had been working in the fields. When they had thus gotten into the city, they passed that night in the house of one Charon, with whom also they continued the following day. Phyllidas was now very busy in making preparations for his masters, the generals of the state, that they might celebrate the feast of Venus at the expiration of their office. He had long before made them a promise to bring them some of the noblest and most beautiful ladies in the city, and fixed this night for the performance of it. The generals, libertines as they were, reckoned they should have a most joyous night. When supper was over, and they had drunk largely, for Phyllidas took care they should have plenty of wine, they called upon him again and again to fetch in the ladies. He went indeed, but fetched in Mello and his companions. He had finely dressed up three of them as women of quality, and the rest as their maids. He led them first into the pantry of the public mansion; and then going himself into the room where they

<sup>a</sup> Pelopidas was one of the number.



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were feasting, told them "the ladies positively refused to come in till all the servants were withdrawn." Upon this they immediately ordered all servants to leave the room. Phyllidas gave the servants wine, and sent them out to drink it in the house of one of the public officers. When this was done, he introduced the ladies, and seated them each to a man. The signal was, that so soon as they were seated, they should immediately discover themselves, and stab. It is thus that some say they were put to death. But others will have it, that Mello and his companions came as a party of masquers, and so killed the generals of the state.

Phyllidas, however, taking with him three of them, proceeded to the house of Leontiades; and, after knocking at the door, said he had some orders to deliver from the generals. Leontiades had just thrown himself upon a couch after supper, and his wife was sitting by him employed at her wheel. He looked upon Phyllidas as a trusty person, and therefore ordered him to come in. They were no sooner in the room, than, after killing him<sup>r</sup> and sadly affrighting his wife, they enjoined her to be silent. And, now departing, they left an order, "to keep the door fast. If they found it had been opened," they threatened "to put all the people in the house to death." Phyllidas, accompanied by two of the men, went away to the public prison, and told the keeper, "he had a prisoner to deliver from a general of

<sup>r</sup> It was Pelopidas that killed him.



“the state, whom he must take care to secure.” So soon as he opened the door, they immediately killed him, and set all the prisoners at liberty. They now ran and took arms out of the Portico, with which they armed the prisoners; and then marching to the Amphieum, posted them there on guard. And no sooner was this done, than they proclaimed aloud, that “all the horsemen and heavy-armed of Thebes should come out, since the tyrants were slain.” The citizens, who, in the night-time, knew not what to believe, kept quiet in their houses. But, so soon as it was day, and it was clearly seen what had been done, the heavy-armed and horsemen soon joined them in arms<sup>s</sup>. The exiles also, who had now returned to Thebes, despatch horsemen away to the rest of their associates, who were waiting on the frontiers of Athens, and two Athenian generals with them. These, knowing well why they were sent for, put themselves in march.

The Lacedæmonian, who commanded in the citadel, had no sooner heard of the proclamation that was made in the night, than he sent away to Plataea and Thespiæ for aid. But the Theban horsemen, who were aware of the approach of the Plataeans, met them on the road, and slew more than twenty of them. Coming back into Thebes after this exploit, and the party from the frontier of Athens was now also arrived, they made an assault upon the citadel. When those within the citadel, whose number was but small, found what

<sup>s</sup> With Epaminondas at their head.



## BOOK V.

they were about, and saw with how much spirit each assailant behaved, and heard large rewards offered by proclamation to such as should first scale the wall, they were greatly intimidated, and offered to evacuate the place, “would they give them leave to depart unmolested with their arms.” They readily agreed to this demand; and then granting a truce, and swearing to an observance of the articles, they ordered them to evacuate the citadel. However, as they were marching out, they seized and massacred all such amongst them as they knew were their enemies. And yet some persons there were, who were secreted by such of the Athenians as had marched up with the aid from the frontier, and conveyed safely off. But the Thebans apprehended and butchered even the children of those persons whom they had massacred on this occasion.

Year before  
Christ 378.  
Cleombrotus  
commands.

When the Lacedæmonians were informed of these affairs, they put to death their commandant, for evacuating the citadel and not remaining in it till aid came up. They also proclaim an expedition against Thebes. But Agesilaus alleged, that “he had been in constant service now forty years from his youth; and as the law exempted all persons of that standing from serving abroad in the army,” he averred that “the king also was included in that exemption;” and, having thus alleged a reasonable excuse, he did not command in this expedition. Yet this was a mere pretext to evade the service, as he well knew, in case he took the command himself, that his countrymen would murmur at him for giving them so much



trouble that he might succour tyrants. He suffered them, therefore, to determine every point relating to it without interfering at all. The Ephori at length, at the desire of those who had escaped from Thebes after the massacre, send out Cleombrotus for the first time to command the army, and in the very depth of winter. Chabrias, at the head of the Athenian targeteers, was guarding the pass of Eleutheræ; Cleombrotus, therefore, marched up by the road that leadeth to Plataea. His targeteers, who led the van, fall in upon the mountain with a guard of about one hundred and fifty persons, the very same men who had been set at liberty out of the prison. And all these, unless, perhaps, one or two who might escape, the targeteers immediately slew. He then marched down to Plataea, which was yet in friendship with them. But, after he had been at Thespiæ, he marched from thence to Cynoscephale, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped his army. He continued there about sixteen days, and then retired again to Thespiæ. He left Sphodrias to command in that place with a third part of the confederate troops. He also gave him what money he had brought from Sparta, and ordered him to hire a body of auxiliaries. And Sphodrias set about obeying his orders.

Cleombrotus led the rest of the army back by the road of Crusis, his soldiers being yet very much in doubt, whether there was a war or not with the Thebans. He had entered with his army, it is true, upon the dominions of Thebes, but he was again withdrawing after doing them as little



## BOOK V.

damage as possible. Yet, during his retreat, there happened a most violent tempest of wind, which some interpreted as an omen of what was soon to come to pass. Amongst other prodigious effects of this tempest, as Cleombrotus was crossing the mountain in the road from Crusis to the sea, it blew several asses loaded with baggage down the precipices, and carried abundance of weapons, whirled out of the soldiers' hands, into the sea. In short, many of them, unable to go on with their arms, left them behind here and there upon the top of the mountain, laying down their shields with the wrong side uppermost, and filling them with stones. That night they refreshed themselves, as well as they could, at Ægosthenes in the district of Megara, but next day they returned and fetched off their arms. And from hence each party made the best of their way to their several homes, for Cleombrotus disbanded the army.

The Athenians, who now saw what the strength of the Lacedæmonians was, that there was war no longer at Corinth, and that the Lacedæmonians had even marched along by Attica against Thebes, were so highly intimidated, that they called down to a trial the two generals, who had been concerned in the conspiracy of Mello against the faction of Leontiades, and put one of them to death, and outlawed the other, who fled before his trial.

The affair of  
Sphodrias.

The Thebans farther, who were under full as great apprehensions in case they should be compelled singly to war with the Lacedæmonians,



have recourse to the following artifice'.—They persuade Sphodrias, who was left commandant at Thespiæ, and it was suspected by a handsome bribe, to make an incursion into Attica, in order to force the Athenians to a rupture with the Lacedæmonians. Sphodrias undertook the business, and pretended he would seize the Piræus, as it was not yet secured by gates. He put his troops on the march soon after supper, saying, that before day he would be at the Piræus. But day-light overtook him at Thria, and he had not even the caution to conceal his design. For, when he was forced to retreat, he drove off the cattle and gutted the houses. Some persons too, who had fallen in with him on his march, flying with all speed into the city, alarmed the Athenians with the news that a very numerous army was approaching. Their horsemen and heavy-armed were soon accoutred, and posted themselves on the guard of the city. Etymocles and Aristolochus, and Ocellus, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, were now in residence at Athens, lodged with Callias, the public host of their state; and no sooner was this news arrived, than the Athenians arrested and secured these ambassadors as privy to the scheme. They were strangely surprised at this incident; and pleaded in their own behalf, that “ they were not such fools as to have staid in the “ city in the power of the Athenians, had they “ known of any design to seize the Piræus, and

\* According to Plutarch, Pelopidas was chief agent in, and promoter of, this affair.



## BOOK V.

“ least of all in their public lodgings, where they  
 “ were sure to be met with.” They said farther,  
 “ it should be cleared up to the satisfaction of the  
 “ Athenians, that the state of Lacedæmon was  
 “ not privy to the design;” adding, “ they were  
 “ well assured of hearing soon that Sphodrias was  
 “ put to death by his country for it.” And thus,  
 being clearly adjudged to have known nothing at  
 all of the matter, they were set at liberty.

The Ephori recalled Sphodrias, and preferred a  
 capital indictment against him. He truly was  
 affrighted, and would not undergo a trial. But,  
 after all, though he refused to stand his trial, he  
 got himself acquitted. This was thought by  
 many the most iniquitous sentence that ever was  
 given by the Lacedæmonians. But the true history  
 of it was this:

Instance of  
 partiality in  
 Agesilaus.

Sphodrias had a son, by name Cleonymus, of an  
 age just beyond the class of boys, but the hand-  
 somest and most accomplished youth in Sparta;  
 and Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, had a  
 fondness for him. The friends, therefore, of  
 Cleombrotus, who were great intimates with  
 Sphodrias, were bent on getting him acquitted,  
 but yet were afraid of Agesilaus and his friends,  
 and indeed of all impartial persons, since, beyond  
 all doubt, his offence was enormous. But Sphodrias  
 at length spoke thus to Cleonymus: “ It is in  
 “ your power, my son, to save your father’s life,  
 “ would you prevail with Archidamus to get  
 “ Agesilaus to favour me in court.” After hearing  
 this, he had the courage to go to Archidamus and  
 beg him to save his father. Archidamus truly,



seeing Cleonymus in tears, stood all in suspense, and wept along with him. And when he had heard his request, he answered thus: "But you must know, Cleonymus, that I never am able to look my father in the face; and whatever public point I want to carry, I solicit all the world much sooner than my father. However, since you request it, be assured I will do all in my power to serve you." And then, leaving the public room of entertainment where they were, he went home to bed. Next morning he was up betimes, and took care his father should not go out before he had seen him. But, when he saw him appear, in the first place, if any of the citizens came in, he let them talk over their business with him; and then, if there came any stranger; and afterwards, he gave way to such of the domestics as had any thing to say. In short, when Agesilaus was returned home again from the Eurotas, he retired without daring to approach him. And the next day he behaved again exactly in the same manner. Agesilaus, however, suspected the true reason of his son's behaviour; but he asked no questions, and let him go on. Archidamus, as is now likely, was longing for a sight of Cleonymus, but durst not presume to face him, as he had not opened his lips to his father about his petition. And the friends of Sphodrias, finding that Archidamus, who used to be so assiduous, came not near Cleonymus, were persuaded he had been chidden by his father. But, in short, Archidamus had at last the courage to go up to him and say; "I am, sir, desired by Cleonymus to beg



## BOOK V.

“ of you to save his father : I earnestly entreat  
“ you, therefore, to do it if you can.” He answered : “ I forgive you, my son, for asking it ;  
“ but I don’t see how I can be forgiven by my  
“ country, if I do not condemn the man who  
“ hath taken a bribe to hurt my country.” Archidamus had nothing to reply ; but, overpowered by a sense of justice, went his way. Yet afterwards, whether of his own thought, or the suggestion of somebody else, he came again and said : “ But I  
“ am assured, my father, if Sphodrias had done  
“ no wrong, you would readily acquit him ; and  
“ therefore, though he hath done wrong, forgive  
“ him this once to gratify your son.” Agesilaus replied ; “ Be it so, provided it can be done with  
“ honour.” At this answer Archidamus went his way, quite despairing of success.

One of the friends of Sphodrias being afterwards in discourse with Etymocles, said to him ;  
“ All you, I suppose, who are the friends of Agesilaus, are for putting Sphodrias to death.”  
“ Far from it,” replied Etymocles ; “ Should we  
“ not act in concert with him ? And Agesilaus, I  
“ assure you, says to all with whom he talketh  
“ about him, that beyond all doubt Sphodrias  
“ hath been to blame ; but then it would be a  
“ hardship indeed to put a man to death, who in  
“ every stage of life had behaved in the most  
“ honourable manner, for Sparta standeth in need  
“ of such gallant men.” Hearing this, he went and told it to Cleonymus. Cleonymus, quite overjoyed, sought out Archidamus, and said :  
“ Now we are convinced you have a sincere



“ regard for us; and rest assured, Archidamus, we shall always endeavour to show so high a regard for you, that you shall never blush you have been our friend.” He made his words good, since quite through life he nobly discharged all the duties of a Spartan; and at Leuctra, fighting before the king in company with Dinon a general-officer, he was the first of the Spartans who dropped and died in the midst of the enemy. His death gave the heartiest concern to Archidamus; though, according to promise, he never shamed, but, on the contrary, gloriously adorned his benefactor. And in this manner truly was Sphodrias acquitted.

At Athens, however, such persons as were in the Bœotian interest were representing to the people, that “ the Lacedæmonians, far from punishing, had even commended Sphodrias for his treachery to them.” The consequence was, that the Athenians made all fast about the Piræus, set ships on the stocks, and aided the Bœotians with high alacrity. On the other side, the Lacedæmonians declared an expedition against Thebes; and judging that Agesilaus would command the army with more prudence than Cleombrotus, they begged of him to undertake the service. He replied, that “ he could refuse no service for which the state judged him to be qualified,” and began the preparations to take the field. But sensible, that, unless Cithæron was secured in time, it would not be easy to get into the territory of Thebes; and having learned that the Cleitorians were at war with the Orchomenians, and

Agesilaus in the  
command.



## BOOK V.

substituted a body of foreign troops, he treated with them for the aid of those troops in case he should want them. After the sacrifices for a successful campaign were over, before he had reached Tegea with his Lacedæmonians, he despatched a messenger to the commander of the troops in the service of the Cletorians with a month's pay advance for those troops, and an order to possess themselves immediately of Cithæron. He sent also a notification to the Orchomenians "to suspend their war during his present expedition. But if any state, whilst he was in the field, presumed to make war upon any other state, he threatened to make war upon the state so offending, in pursuance of the standing decree of the confederates." And now, after passing Cithæron and arriving at Thespiæ, he resumed his march from thence and entered the dominions of Thebes. But finding the plains and the richest parts of the country secured by ditches and ramparts, he shifted his encampments from one spot to another, and leading out his army in the afternoon, laid all the country waste that he found not covered by ditches and ramparts. For the enemy, whenever Agesilaus appeared in sight, formed in order of battle behind their rampart, as ready to defend it. And once, when he was returning to his camp, the Theban horse, who had kept themselves concealed, ride out suddenly through the sally-ports contrived on purpose in the rampart, and at the time the targeteers were dispersed to their supper, and were actually getting it ready, whilst the



horsemen were either dismounting or mounting again upon their horses, gallop in amongst them. They made a slaughter of the targeteers; and of the horse, slew Cleon and Epilytidas, both of Sparta, and Eudicus, who belonged to a city in the neighbourhood of Sparta, and some exiles from Athens, who had not been able to remount their horses. But when Agesilaus had faced about with the heavy-armed, and was marching towards them, and the horse on each side began to ride at one another, and the first military class of Spartans ran out from the heavy-armed to support the horse; then, indeed, the horsemen of the Thebans resembled labourers exhausted by the noon-day heat. They kept their ground, it is true, against the assailants, and threw their spears, but then they never threw them home. And at last, being obliged to wheel about, twelve of them were slain. When Agesilaus was thus convinced that the enemy were always in motion after dinner, he sacrificed at early day; and then marching out his army with all expedition, he entered their lines by a quarter on which there was no guard at all. And, after this, he put every thing within their lines to fire and sword, quite up to the walls of Thebes. But having done this and retreated again to Thespiæ, he fortified that city; and leaving Phœbidas behind to be commandant in Thespiæ, he repassed to Megara, dismissed the confederates, and led back the domestic troops to Sparta.

But after his departure, Phœbidas, by sending out his parties, was continually fetching in plunder

Defeat and death of Phœbidas.



## BOOK V.

from the Thebans, and by the incursions he made gave sad annoyance to the country. The Thebans, on the other side, being eager for revenge, march with their whole united force into the territory of the Thespians. But, though they had thus entered it, Phœbidas lay so close upon them with his targeteers, that none of the enemy durst on any occasion straggle from the main body. In short, the Thebans were grievously disappointed in this fruitless incursion, and were retreating with much precipitation. And even their muleteers, throwing away what corn they had got, rode homewards as fast as possible; so great a panic had seized the army. But Phœbidas with high ardour kept plying in pursuit. He followed it close with the targeteers, having left orders for the heavy-armed to follow after in their regular order. He was full of hope to make it end in a general route. He himself pressed with great bravery on their rear; he encouraged every person to keep up close at the enemy; and he ordered the heavy-armed of Thespiæ to follow him. But the Theban horse were now come in their retreat to a wood that was impassable, at which they first drew close together, and in the next place they faced about, since they were quite at a loss how to get any farther. The targeteers, and the number of them was but small, that first approached, were terrified, and took to flight. When the horsemen saw this, the very fright of their own people instructed them to fall on; and here Phœbidas, with two or three more, were slain fighting. Perceiving Phœbidas was killed, all the merce-



naries to a man took to flight. When in their flight they were come back to the heavy-armed of Thespiæ, these also, in spite of their former boasts, that they would never give way before Thebans, fled too for company. They saved themselves, indeed, from any warm pursuit, since it was now late in the day. Hence it was that few of these Thespians lost their lives. They fled, however, without once looking behind them, till they were got within their own walls.

The affairs of the Thebans took fresh life again after this success, and they marched against Thespiæ and the adjacent cities. The party, it is true, for the Thebans in each of these cities had retired to Thebes, since their governments had been lodged in the hands of a few great men in the same manner as had been done in Thebes. The friends, therefore, of the Lacedæmonians in all these cities, were petitioning for succour. And after the death of Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonians sent by sea a general-officer and one brigade to lie in garrison at Thespiæ.

But so soon as the spring came on, the Lacedæmonians again declared an expedition against Thebes; and begged Agesilaus, as the year before, to take upon him the command. He was still in the same sentiments about the manner of breaking into the country, so that before the solemn sacrifices were performed, he despatched away a messenger to the commanding officer at Thespiæ, with an order to him to possess himself immediately of the eminence that commands the pass of Cithæron, and maintain it till he came

Year before  
Christ 377.

Agesilaus again  
in the command.



## BOOK V.

up with the army. When he himself had passed it and was got to Plataea, he again pretended to march to Thespiæ. He sent his couriers thither to order a market to be ready, and for all ambassadors to wait for him there, insomuch that the Thebans gathered all their strength together to stop his march to Thespiæ. But the day after, having sacrificed at early dawn, he began his march along the road of Erythra; and having made a double march that day, he passed the lines of the enemy at Scolus, before the Thebans could arrive from the place where he had passed last year, which they were intent on guarding. Having thus passed the lines, he laid all the country waste eastward of Thebes quite up to Tanagra, (for Tanagra was still in the possession of Hypotadorus, who was a friend to the Lacedæmonians), and afterwards marched back again, keeping the walls of Thebes on his left. The Thebans took the field, and were posted in order of battle at Graos-stethos, having in their rear the ditch and rampart, and judging themselves excellently well posted for hazarding a battle: for the ground here was sufficiently narrow, and very rugged. But Agesilaus, seeing how they were posted, would not advance towards them; but making a sudden turn to the left, he marched directly for the city of Thebes. And now the Thebans, trembling for the city, empty as it was of all its people, started away from the post where they were formed in order of battle, and advanced full speed towards the city along the road of Potnia; for this was in reality the securest



way. And yet it was undoubtedly a noble piece of conduct in Agesilaus, to retreat to a great distance from the enemy, and oblige them in the greatest hurry to quit their ground. Some, however, of the general-officers with their own brigades ran at the Thebans, as they were rushing along full speed. But the Thebans poured their darts and javelins upon them from the eminences; and Halypetus, one of these officers, lost his life by a wound received from a javelin thrown at him. The Thebans, however, were obliged to dislodge from that eminence; and the Sciritæ and the horsemen rode up it, and kept striking at the rear of the enemy whilst they were running towards the city. But so soon as they were got near the walls, the Thebans face about. The Sciritæ, seeing this, retreated back faster than a foot-pace, and not one of them lost his life on this occasion. The Thebans, however, erected a trophy, since their assailants had thus retreated.

Agesilaus, as it was now high time, wheeled off, and encamped his army on the very ground where he had before seen the enemy posted in order of battle, and on the next day led them back to Thespiæ. The targeteers in the pay of Thebes kept following close in his rear, and were calling out on Chabrias for not keeping up with them, when the Olynthian horse (for now, pursuant to oath, they were in the army) wheeled about, forced them up an ascent by the closeness of their pursuit, and put very many of them to the sword. For footmen, when labouring up a smooth ascent, are quickly overtaken by horse.



## BOOK V.

At his return to Thespiæ, Agesilaus found the citizens of that place embroiled in sedition; and, as the party attached to the Lacedæmonians were for putting their adversaries to death, amongst whom was Meno, he would not suffer it. On the contrary, he reconciled them; and having obliged them to swear not to hurt one another, he then repassed Cithæron, and got back to Megara. At Megara he disbanded the confederates, and led away himself the domestic troops to Sparta.

The Thebans, who now were highly distressed by a scarcity of corn, since for the last two years they had not reaped the produce of their soil, send out proper persons on board two triremes to purchase corn at Pagasæ, giving them ten<sup>u</sup> talents for the purpose. But Alcetas, the Lacedæmonian, who was now in garrison at Oreus, whilst they were purchasing and taking in their corn, manned out three triremes, taking all possible care they should have no intelligence of what he was about. And when the corn was carrying off, Alcetas seizeth it all in the triremes, and took prisoners all the persons on board, who were not fewer than three hundred. And these his prisoners he conveyed for security into the citadel, where he was lodged himself. It was reported, that a youth of Oreus, remarkably handsome, followed after the crowd on this occasion, and Alcetas walked down from the citadel to have some conversation with him. The prisoners, therefore, observing this

\* One thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds ten shillings.



negligence of his, seize the citadel, and the town BOOK V.  
 revolts; and now, without obstruction, the The-  
 bans fetched away all the corn.

When the ensuing spring approached, Agesi-  
 laus was confined to his bed. For at Megara, Illness of Age-  
 silaus.  
 when he led the army back from Thebes, as he  
 was going up from the temple of Venus to the  
 hall of the magistrates, he burst a vein somewhere  
 in the inside of his body, and the blood flowed  
 down from it into his sound leg. His ankle be-  
 came excessively swelled, and the pain was not  
 to be borne. A physician, therefore, from Syracuse  
 lays open the vein upon the ankle-bone. The  
 blood having thus got a vent, continued to issue  
 for a whole day and night, and, in spite of all  
 their arts, the flux could not be stopped till he  
 fainted away: then, indeed, it ceased entirely.  
 And being afterwards conveyed to Lacedæmon,  
 he was very ill all the rest of that summer, and  
 all the next winter too.

However, so soon as it was spring, the Lace-  
 dæmonians again declared an expedition against  
 the Thebans, and ordered Cleombrotus to com-  
 mand the army. When in his march he was near  
 Cithæron, the targeteers advanced before him to  
 secure the eminence above the pass. Some of the  
 Thebans and Athenians had already possessed  
 themselves of the summit of the mountain, and  
 suffered them quietly to mount the ascent. But,  
 so soon as they were come within reach, they  
 started up, pursued, and slew about forty of them.  
 And, after this repulse, Cleombrotus, judging it

Year before  
 Christ 376.  
 Cleombrotus in  
 the command.



BOOK V. impossible to get over into the dominions of Thebes, led back and disbanded the army.

War at sea.

An assembly of the confederates was held afterwards at Lacedæmon, where they remonstrated at large, that “ they should be ruined by such a “ sluggish conduct of the war. The Lacedæ- “ monians, if they pleased, might man out a “ much larger number of ships than the Athe- “ nians, and might starve their city into a sur- “ render. With the same ships they might also “ transport the land army against Thebes; or, if “ they had rather, might march through Phocis; “ or, if they chose it, by the pass of Crusis.” In pursuance of these remonstrances, they manned out sixty triremes, and Pollis was appointed to be admiral. And, indeed, such as recommended this conduct were not disappointed, for by it the Athenians were blocked up at sea. Their corn ships were come up as far as Gerastus, but not a vessel durst stir from thence, as the fleet of the Lacedæmonians was on the stations of Ægina, and Céos, and Andros. The Athenians, thus convinced they must run all hazards, went on board their ships; and coming to an engagement with Pollis, they gain a victory at sea under the command of Chabrias. And then the corn was brought in safety to Athens.

Success of Timotheus.

The Lacedæmonians preparing now to transport the land army against the Bœotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to appear with their naval force on the coasts of Peloponnesus; judging that, would the Athenians comply, it would



be impossible for the Lacedæmonians, at one and the same time, to guard their own coast with all the confederate cities that lie round their dominions, and to send abroad an army large enough to make head against them. The Athenians, still full of resentment against the Lacedæmonians for the affair of Sphodrias, having manned out sixty ships, and chosen Timotheus for commander, despatched them with alacrity against Peloponnesus. And now, as their enemy had made no irruption into the territory of Thebes, either during the command of Cleombrotus, or whilst Timotheus was hovering round their coasts, the Thebans boldly took the field against their neighbouring cities, and retook them all. Timotheus also, after coasting round, reduced Corcyra without loss of time. However, he reduced none to slavery, he drove none into exile, he made no change in their laws; and by such moderation he procured the good-will of all the neighbouring states. And now the Lacedæmonians manned out their ships to check Timotheus, and sent them to sea under the command of Nicolochus, a man of remarkable bravery. He was no sooner within sight of the ships of Timotheus, than, though six ships from Ambracia had not yet joined him, and he had under his command but fifty-five against sixty ships under Timotheus, he engaged without any hesitation. He was, indeed, defeated in the battle, and Timotheus erected a trophy at Ælyzia. But whilst the ships of Timotheus were drawn ashore in order to be repaired, and the six fresh ships from Ambracia had joined Nicolochus, he

Year before  
Christ 375.



BOOK V. sailed up to Ælyzia where Timotheus was. But, as the latter refused to come out and fight, Nicolochus also erected a trophy on the nearest island. Yet, when Timotheus had refitted his own ships, and manned out several more from Corcyra, his total number amounting now to more than seventy, he became far superior in strength at sea. He sent away to Athens for money; and much money he wanted, for he had many ships.



# HISTORY

OF

## THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

### BOOK VI.

Account of Jason.—The War at Corcyra.—A Congress held at Sparta for a general Peace.—Exclusion of the Thebans, and, in consequence of it, the Battle of Leuctra.—History of Jason continued.—The Lacedæmonians sue at Athens for aid against the Thebans.

THE Athenians and the Lacedæmonians were thus employed. But the Thebans, after they had reduced the cities of Bœotia, marched into Phocis. The Phocians sent away ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and represented there, that “without a speedy aid they could not avoid submitting to the Thebans.” The consequence was, that the Lacedæmonians transported by sea to aid them, their king Cleombrotus, having under him four brigades and a part of their confederates.

About the same time, Polydamas, the Pharsalian, also arriveth at Lacedæmon, on business to

BOOK VI.

War in Phocis.

Account of  
Jason given by  
Polydamas.



BOOK VI. the state. Polydamas was in high esteem all over Thessaly; and in his own city of Pharsalus was judged so honest and worthy a man, that his fellow-citizens, who had been embroiled in a sedition, had unanimously agreed, as the safest expedient, to entrust their citadel to his custody. They empowered him farther to receive all the public revenue, and make such disbursements for sacrifices and other points of the public administration, as were according to law. Thus provided with money, he procured an effectual guard for the citadel, and at every year's end passed fair accounts of his administration. Nay, whenever the public money fell short, he advanced his own for the necessary payments, and reimbursed himself again when the public money came in. And, more than all this, he lived in a course of great hospitality and magnificence too, according to the modes of Thessaly. When Polydamas, therefore, was arrived at Lacedæmon, he spoke as followeth:

Speech of  
Polydamas.

“ Not only my progenitors from time immemorial, but I myself too, Lacedæmonians, have been your public host and constant benefactor. I have therefore a right, when I want assistance, to apply to you for it, and to give you notice in time of any difficulty that starts up, and may prove prejudicial to you in Thessaly.

“ You are no strangers, I am well assured, to the name of Jason; for he is a man of great power, and in high reputation. This Jason, having demanded a truce, hath had a conference with me, in which he discoursed me thus:

“ You may judge, Polydamas, from the reasons



‘ I am going to lay before you, whether I am  
“ not able to reduce Pharsalus, your city, to my  
“ own obedience in spite of all opposition. I  
“ have (said he) now ready to act with me the  
“ largest number of the most powerful cities in  
“ Thessaly. I have reduced them into obedience  
“ to myself, though you united with them in  
“ carrying on a war against me. You know  
“ further, that I have now a body of six thousand  
“ foreigners in my pay; and, in my judgment, no  
“ city in this part of the world can in battle be a  
“ match for them. I can bring (said he) full as  
“ many more into the field from other places in  
“ my own subjection. The troops that occa-  
“ sionally take the field from Thessalian cities,  
“ have several persons amongst them advanced in  
“ years, and several not yet of age for service;  
“ and small is the number of those belonging to  
“ any city whatever, who keep themselves in  
“ proper exercise for war. But not a man re-  
“ ceiveth my pay, who is not able to undergo any  
“ toil as well as myself.”

“ And Jason himself (for I must not suppress  
“ the truth), is very strong by natural constitu-  
“ tion, and is, beside, habitually hardy. And  
“ hence it is, that not a day passeth in which he  
“ doth not put the hardiness of his men to trial.  
“ He is daily in armour, and daily at their head,  
“ either when they go out to exercise, or go out  
“ on actual service. Such of his mercenaries as  
“ he findeth unable to bear hardships, he throweth  
“ aside; but such as he findeth are eager to toil,  
“ and eager to face the dangers of war, he dis-



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“tinguisheth by an assignment of pay twice,  
“thrice, nay, four times as large as the common,  
“beside the additional presents he maketh them,  
“beside his great care to cure them when they  
“are sick, and the handsome funerals he honoureth  
“them with if they die. Thus it is, that all the  
“foreigners in Jason’s service are perfectly assured,  
“that military valour affordeth all the honour and  
“affluence of life.

“He then repeated to me what I well knew  
“before, that the Maracians and Dolopians, and  
“Alcetas, who governeth in Epirus, were already  
“subject to his orders.—What reason, therefore,  
“ (said he), have I to be frightened, or to think I  
“am not able to reduce you Pharsalians too?  
“Yet some that know me not may here demand,  
“Why, therefore, do you dally? why do you not  
“march at once against the Pharsalians? My  
“answer is plain and honest truth, Because I had  
“rather gain you by a willing than a compelled  
“submission. For, should you act with me upon  
“compulsion, you will for ever be contriving to  
“do me mischief, and I shall for ever be con-  
“triving to weaken you as much as possibly I  
“can. But, if you join me upon the motives of  
“persuasion, it is plain we shall be ready on both  
“sides to do all the good we can for one another.  
“I am very sensible, Polydamas, that Pharsalus,  
“your own native city, placeth all confidence in  
“you. If, therefore, you can bring it into friend-  
“ship with me, I give you my honour (said  
“he), I will make you, next after myself, the  
“greatest man in Greece. And hear of how



“ much good I offer you the second share ; and  
“ believe nothing of what I am going to say,  
“ unless your own reason, upon reflection, con-  
“ vinceth you it is true. This, therefore, is cer-  
“ tainly clear, that if Pharsalus and the cities that  
“ depend upon you will act in union with me, I  
“ may easily get myself declared supreme governor  
“ of all the Thessalians. It is equally certain,  
“ that when Thessaly shall thus be united under  
“ one head, the number of horsemen riseth at  
“ once to six thousand, and the number of their  
“ heavy-armed to more than ten thousand men.  
“ And when I consider how able-bodied and how  
“ brave they are by nature, I am persuaded that,  
“ when they are properly disciplined, there is not  
“ a nation to whom the Thessalians would not  
“ disdain the thought of submitting. And, as  
“ Thessaly itself is a country of vast extent, no  
“ sooner are they united under one head, than all  
“ the nations around must instantly submit.  
“ These people are expert in the use of missive  
“ weapons ; and hence it may be judged, that our  
“ armies will exceed all others in the number of  
“ our targeteers. Beside this, the Bœotians, and  
“ all other people of Greece who are enemies to  
“ the Lacedæmonians, are confederates with me.  
“ They ever profess themselves ready to act under  
“ my guidance, provided I free them from the  
“ Lacedæmonians. The Athenians farther, I am  
“ well persuaded, would do any thing in the  
“ world to be taken into our alliance. But I  
“ think it will not be my choice to be at friend-  
“ ship with them ; since I judge it much easier, at



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“ present, to establish an empire by sea than by  
 “ land. Whether I judge solidly or not, consider  
 “ what I am going to add—When we are masters  
 “ of Macedonia, from whence the Athenians fetch  
 “ their timber, we shall be able to build a much  
 “ larger number of ships than they. And shall  
 “ we not be able to man these ships with much  
 “ more expedition than the Athenians, as we have so  
 “ many <sup>a</sup> vassals amongst us capable of being made  
 “ good seamen? And again, shall we not be better  
 “ able to victual our fleets? we, who make large  
 “ exportations of our corn from the great plenty  
 “ we enjoy, than the Athenians can be, who have  
 “ not enough for their home consumption without  
 “ buying it at foreign markets? In money too we  
 “ must certainly outdo them, since we are not to  
 “ squeeze it from a parcel of paltry islands, but  
 “ can collect it in most ample measure from whole  
 “ nations on the continent; and all the circum-  
 “ jacent nations are subjected to a tribute, when  
 “ the government of Thessaly is lodged in the  
 “ hands of a supreme governor. You yourself  
 “ know, that the Persian monarch, who collects  
 “ his tributes not from islands but the continent,  
 “ is the richest man upon earth. And this very  
 “ monarch, I think, I could reduce to my own  
 “ subjection with more ease than even Greece:  
 “ for I am sensible, that in all his dominions there  
 “ is but one single person who takes not more  
 “ pains to be a slave than to be free. And I am  
 “ farther sensible, how that monarch was reduced



“ to the last extremity by so small a force as  
“ marched up against him under Cyrus, and by  
“ that afterwards under Agesilaus.”

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“ When Jason had run over all these points, my  
“ answer was:—There is weight assuredly in all  
“ you have said. But for us, who are confederates  
“ with the Lacedæmonians, and without having  
“ any thing to lay to their charge, to revolt to  
“ their enemies, seems to me (said I), a point that  
“ I shall not easily comply with. He praised my  
“ ingenuity, and said I was so honest a man that  
“ he would do all in his power to gain my friend-  
“ ship. He hath, therefore, given me leave to  
“ repair hither, and represent the truth to you,  
“ that, unless we readily join him, he is fully  
“ determined to make war upon the Pharsalians.  
“ He enjoined me farther, to demand assistance  
“ from you. If (said he), they grant you an aid,  
“ and such as you judge sufficient to enable you  
“ to make head against me, bring them into the  
“ field (said he), and let us decide, by battle, what  
“ our future conduct must be: but, in case they  
“ give you not a sufficient aid, your country,  
“ which honoureth you, and which you nobly  
“ serve, may possibly have ample reason to  
“ censure your behaviour.

“ It is for these reasons, that I am come  
“ now to Lacedæmon, and have given an exact  
“ recital of what I know myself, and what I have  
“ heard Jason say. And in my own opinion,  
“ Lacedæmonians, the point rests here:—If  
“ actually you can send an army thither, in aid not  
“ only of me, but of the rest of the Thessalians,



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“ sufficient to maintain a war against Jason, the  
“ cities will revolt from him. For they are all in  
“ great fear, how the mighty power of this man  
“ will end. But, if you judge that a body of  
“ new enfranchised citizens, and a private Spartan  
“ to command, will suffice, I then advise you not  
“ to meddle at all. For, rest thoroughly con-  
“ vinced, it is a mighty strength you are to  
“ struggle against. That strength will be under  
“ the conduct of an able commander; who, when  
“ the point is either to conceal, or prevent, or to  
“ push, will be generally successful. He knoweth  
“ how to act as well by night as by day. On any  
“ emergency, he will take either dinner or supper  
“ without abating his activity. He never thinketh  
“ it time to take his repose, till he is arrived at  
“ the place whither he resolved to go, or hath  
“ completed the point he was determined to com-  
“ plete. He hath made such practices habitual to  
“ all his troops. He is skilful at gratifying his  
“ soldiers, when by hardy perseverance they have  
“ accomplished any point of importance; so that  
“ all who serve under Jason have learned this  
“ lesson, that pleasure is the effect of toil; though,  
“ as to sensual pleasures, I know no person in the  
“ world more temperate than Jason. They never  
“ break in upon his time; they always leave him  
“ leisure to do what must be done.

“ Consider, therefore, these things; and tell  
“ me, in the manner that becometh you, what you  
“ shall be able to do, and what you will do in  
“ this affair.”

Polydamas spoke thus, and the Lacedæmonians



excused themselves from giving an immediate answer. Next day and the day after they employed themselves in calculating how many brigades they had already abroad in different quarters, and how many ships they must keep at sea to make head against the fleet of Athens, and what was requisite for the war against their neighbouring enemies. And then they made this answer to Polydamas, that “at present they could not send him a competent aid; it was therefore their advice, that he should return, and accommodate both the public and his own private affairs with Jason in the best manner he was able.” And Polydamas, after highly commending the ingenuity of the state, returned to Pharsalus.

He now made it his request to Jason, not to compel him to surrender the citadel of the Pharsalians, which he would fain preserve faithfully for those who had made him the depository of it. But then he gave his own sons for hostages, promising he would persuade his fellow-citizens to act in hearty concert with him, and would himself co-operate to get him declared supreme governor of Thessaly. When, therefore, they had exchanged securities to one another, the Pharsalians had a peace immediately granted them, and Jason was soon, without opposition, appointed supreme governor of all Thessaly. When thus invested with authority, he fixed the number of horsemen and number of heavy-armed, that every city, in proportion to their ability, should be obliged to maintain. And the number of his horsemen now, including his confederates, was more than eight



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thousand; his heavy-armed were computed to be twenty thousand at least. His targeteers were numerous enough to fight all other targeteers in the world: it would be a toil to reckon up the names of the cities to which they belonged. He also ordered the people that lay round Thessaly to send in their tribute, in the same manner it was paid during the supremacy of Scopas. And in this manner were these things brought about. I now return again from whence I digressed to give this account of Jason.

A peace between Athens and Sparta. Year before Christ 374.

The troops of the Lacedæmonians and confederates were now assembled in Phocis; but the Thebans, after withdrawing into their own territory, guarded all the passes. In the mean-time, the Athenians, seeing how much they had contributed towards the power of the Thebans, who, notwithstanding, paid nothing in return for the support of their fleet, and finding themselves exhausted by the vast taxes they paid, and by the piratical cruises from Ægina, and the guard of their lands, became highly desirous of bringing the war to an end. Accordingly they sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and made a peace. Two of these ambassadors set sail immediately from Lacedæmon in pursuance of an order from Athens, and commanded Timotheus to return home with the fleet, since now there was a peace. But, in his homeward passage, he landed all the exiles from Zacynthus on their own isle. But, no sooner had the other Zacynthians sent notice to Lacedæmon of this action of Timotheus, than the Lacedæmonians resolved that “the Athenians had

But immediately broke. Year before Christ 373.



“committed injustice,” prepared again to send out a fleet, and ordered the equipment of sixty ships from Lacedæmon itself, and Corinth, and Leucas, and Ambracia, and Elis, and Zacynthus, and Achæa, and Epidaurus, and Trœzen, and Hermione, and Haliæ. Having next declared Mnasippus admiral of this fleet, they ordered him to take due care of every thing within that sea, and to make an attempt upon Corcyra. They sent also to Dionysius, representing to him, that it was by no means for his interest that Corcyra should remain in the power of the Athenians.

And now, when the whole fleet was gotten together, Mnasippus sailed for Corcyra. He had with him, besides the troops from Lacedæmon, a body of mercenaries, in number not less than fifteen hundred. When he had landed in Corcyra, he was master of all the country. He ruined their estates so beautifully cultivated and so finely planted. He demolished the magnificent houses built upon them, in the cellars of which their wines were lodged. His soldiers are reported, on this occasion, to have grown so nice in palate, that they would not drink any wine that had not an odoriferous flavour. Slaves also and cattle in vast abundance were taken in the adjacent country. At length he had encamped with his land forces on a hill, which had the country behind it, about <sup>b</sup>five stadia from the city, in order to intercept any aid from the country that might endeavour to enter the city; and had further stationed his fleet

Corcyra be-  
sieged.

<sup>b</sup> About half a mile.



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on either side of the city, as he judged would best enable them to discover and stop in time whatever approached by sea; and, beside all this, he kept a guard at sea before the harbour, when the weather was not too tempestuous. In this manner he kept the city close blocked up.

And now the Corcyreans, who could receive none of the produce of their lands, since they were all in the enemy's possession; who could have nothing imported by sea, as their enemies were also masters there; were in great distress. They sent to the Athenians, and requested a speedy aid. They remonstrated to them—"How vastly they needs must suffer, if they were thus deprived of Corcyra, or resigned so great a strength to their enemies! No state in Greece, excepting Athens, had so much shipping, or so much wealth. The city of Corcyra was finely situated in respect to the bay of Corinth, and the cities which stood upon that bay; finely situated too for annoying the coast of Laconia; and most finely, indeed, in respect to the continent beyond it, and the passage from Sicily to Peloponnesus."

Relieved by the  
Athenians.

The Athenians, after listening to these remonstrances, agreed it was a point deserving all their care, and despatch away Stesicles with six hundred targeteers, to take upon him the command, and begged Alcetas to transport and land them in Corcyra. Accordingly they were landed by night, somewhere upon that island, and get into the city. They decreed farther, to man out sixty ships; and, by a majority of hands, elected Timotheus to



command them. But, not being able to man them at home, Timotheus sailed to the islands, and endeavoured there to complete his crews; judging it no trifling matter to stand away hastily against a fleet so well prepared, as was that of the enemy. But the Athenians, who now thought he was wasting the precious time, and ought at once to have made his passage, grew out of all patience with him, and suspending his command, choose Iphicrates in his room. Iphicrates, so soon as he was appointed to command, completed his crews with high expedition, obliging all captains of ships to exert themselves. He pressed into the service, by public permission, whatever ships were found upon the Attic coasts, nay, even the Salaminian and the Paralus, saying, "If things succeeded well at Corcyra, he would send them back plenty of ships." And the number of his ships amounted at last to seventy.

In the mean-time, the Corcyreans were so sorely pressed with famine, that vast numbers of them deserted to the enemy, insomuch, that Mnasippus at length made public proclamation, that "all deserters should be sold at public sale." But as this put no stop to their desertion, he at last scourged them, and then drove them back. Yet the besieged would not again receive any slaves into the town, so that many of them perished without the walls. Mnasippus, therefore, seeing these things, imagined he was already only not in possession of the city. He, therefore, made new regulations in regard to his mercenaries, and forced some of them to leave the service without their pay. And to those, whom he still kept with him,

Bad conduct  
and death of  
Mnasippus.



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he was already two months in arrear, though (as was said) he was in no want of money: for several of the cities sent money over to him, instead of troops, as the expedition was across the sea. But now the besieged saw plainly from the turrets, that the guards did their duty with more negligence than before, and that the men straggled in a careless manner about the country. They, therefore, sallied out upon them suddenly, and took some prisoners, and some they slew. Mnasippus, perceiving this, caught up his arms in an instant, and marched with all the heavy-armed he had to their succour, and gave orders to the superior and inferior officers of the mercenaries to lead out their troops. But some of these inferior officers having answered, that "it would not be easy to bring soldiers out in proper discipline, who could get no pay," he struck one of them with his staff, and another with his spear. And thus, at length, they all come out into the field, though without any spirits at all, and with a hearty detestation of Mnasippus, the worst temper in the world for men going to fight. When he had drawn them up in order of battle, he put the enemy to flight that were drawn up between him and the gates, and followed briskly in pursuit. But the pursued, when they were near the wall, made a wheel, and kept galling him from the tombs with their darts and javelins. And another party, sallying out at another gate, pour down in great numbers on the extremity of his line. The men posted there, as they were drawn up but eight in file, judged the point of their line to be



quite too weak, and endeavoured to make a wheel. But they had no sooner began to fall back, than the enemy broke in upon them, as if they were flying, and they made no attempt to recover their ranks. Such too, as were posted nearest to them, took instantly to flight. Mnassipus, in the mean-time, was not able to assist the routed part of his line, as the enemy was lying hard upon him in front; he was every moment left with fewer and fewer men. And at last the enemy, gathering into a body, made a general attack upon those remaining with Mnasippus, who were very few. The heavy-armed of the enemy, seeing how the case stood, now made a sally; and, after killing Mnasippus, the whole force of the enemy continued the pursuit. The whole camp, and the intrenchment, were in great danger of being taken, had not the pursuers judged it advisable to retreat, when they saw the great crowd of people gotten together within the camp, whom, though servants and slaves, they judged might be serviceable in its defence. And then the Corcyreans erected a trophy, and restored the dead under truce.

The besieged, after this, were in the highest spirits, whilst the besiegers were in a total dejection. For now it was reported, that Iphicrates was only not at hand, and the Corcyreans actually manned out their ships. But Hypermenes, who was at present in the command, since he had been lieutenant to Mnasippus, ordered every ship to be immediately manned, and standing round with them to the intrenchment of the camp, shipped all the slaves and treasure on board, and sent them off. He staid on shore, with the marines, and such of



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Fine conduct of  
Iphicrates.

the soldiers as yet remained, to guard the intrenchment. And at last, even these, though with the utmost disorder, got on board the ships, and put out to sea, leaving a great quantity of corn, and a great quantity of wine, and many slaves and sick persons, behind them. They were in a terrible fright, lest they should be caught upon the island by the Athenians. And, in fact, they all got safe over to Leucas.

But Iphicrates, when once he had begun the passage, kept at the same time advancing in his course, and preparing his whole fleet for engagement. He had left behind him the great masts at setting out, as standing away for battle. He also made very little use of his sails even when the wind was favourable. He made the passage by the oar; and so kept the bodies of his men in excellent order, and his ships in an even motion. Whenever the forces were to land for their dinner or supper, he led the fleet in a line a-head, over-against the place; then, making a tack, and bringing the heads of his vessels in a direct line with the shore, he gave a signal for all to make the best of their way to land. A great advantage thence accrued to such as could first take in their water, or what else they wanted, and first finish their meal. A great punishment likewise fell upon such as were last upon these occasions, because they got a less quantity of whatever they wanted, since they were obliged to put out to sea again, when the signal was given. For it followed of course, that such as landed first, had leisure enough for all their occasions, whilst the last were grievously hurried. And whenever he landed at meal-time on the shore of the enemy, he posted



advanced guards, as was proper, at land; and raising the masts in his ships, placed sentinels on their tops. These latter, therefore, had generally a much more extensive view, by being thus mounted aloft, than men who stand upon level ground. And wherever he supped or refreshed his men, he suffered no fire to be kindled in the night-time, within his encampment, but fixed his lights in the front of his station, that nobody might approach, without being discovered. Oftentimes too, when the weather was calm, he put out again to sea so soon as supper was over; and, if a gale sprung up, the men took some repose, whilst the vessels kept going before the wind. But, if they were obliged to row, he made them take rest by turns. In the day-time, directing the course by signals, he one while advanced in the line a-head, and another while in the line a-breast. By this means, and during the passage, having by constant exercises acquired all needful skill for engaging, they arrived in the sea, of which they imagined the enemy were masters. They frequently dined and supped upon the enemy's land; but as Iphicrates was solely intent upon doing what must needs be done, he prevented all attacks by the suddenness with which he again put to sea, and proceeded in his passage. About the time that Mnasippus was killed, he was got to Sphageæ, of Laconia. Advancing from thence to the coast of Elis, and passing by the mouth of the Alpheus, he came to an anchor near the place called Icthyis. The next day he proceeded from thence to Cephallene, with his fleet so ranged,



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and proceeding in their course, that every thing needful was ready for an engagement, if it should be necessary to engage. He heard, indeed, of the death of Mnasippus, yet from none that could attest its truth: he suspected it was given out on purpose to deceive him, and kept upon his guard. However, when arrived at Cephallene, he was there convinced of the truth, and stopped to refresh his fleet.—I am sensible, indeed, that whenever men expect an engagement, exercise and discipline are constantly enforced. But I commend Iphicrates for this, that as he was to advance with the highest expedition to find his enemy, and engage them, he contrived so well, that the expeditiousness of the voyage should not hinder his men from acquiring skill for battle, nor the methods of acquiring such skill should retard the expeditiousness of the voyage.

When, therefore, he had reduced the cities of Cephallene, he sailed to Corcyra. After his arrival there, the first thing he heard was, that ten ships were coming over from Dionysius, as a succour to the Lacedæmonians. He went, therefore, himself in person, to look for proper places on the coast, from whence the approach of these ships might be descried, and the signals made to notify it might be seen in the city; and there he posted sentinels, instructed by him in what manner to make their signals when the enemy approached or came to an anchor. He then ordered twenty captains of his own fleet to be ready to follow him at the call of the herald; and gave out, that such as were not ready at the call, must not complain



at being punished for their neglect. So soon, therefore, as the signal was made, that these ships were approaching, and the herald had made the call, such diligence ensued, as caused a fine spectacle indeed: for not a man of those, who were to act upon this occasion, but ran full speed on board his ship. Having now stood away to the spot where the ships of the enemy were arrived, he findeth that from the rest of the squadron the men were already gotten on shore, whilst Melanippus, the Rhodian, was calling out upon them by no means to linger there, and himself, with all his crew on board, was getting out to sea. Melanippus by this means escaped, though he met with the ships of Iphicrates: but all the Syracusan ships were taken with their crews. And Iphicrates, after cutting off the beaks of these ships, brought them into the harbour of Corcyra. He then fixed a certain sum, which each of the prisoners must pay for his ransom, except Anippus their commander. Him he confined under a close guard, as if he expected a vast sum for him, or otherwise would sell him. Anippus was so highly chagrined at this usage, that he chose to die by his own hand. And Iphicrates, taking security from the Corcyreans for the payment of their ransom, gave their liberty to the rest. He, after this, subsisted his mariners, by employing them in works of tillage for the Corcyreans, but with the targeteers and heavy-armed of the fleet he passed over himself to Acarnania. He there gave aid to all such of the cities in friendship as needed it, and made war upon the Thurians, a very warlike people, and possessed of a place strongly



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fortified. Then fetching away the fleet from Corcyra, now consisting of about ninety ships, he went first to Cephallene to raise contributions, and exacted them from all persons, whether willing or unwilling. He then prepared to lay waste the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and to reduce the other cities of the enemy in those parts, if they desired it, by an accommodation; but, if they stood out, by war. For my own part, I have a deal of commendation to bestow on Iphicrates for his conduct during this command; but, above all, for getting Callistratus the popular haranguer, a man not easy to be managed, and Chabrias, who was reckoned an excellent general, associated with him in it. For, if he judged them men of sense, and therefore desired to be assisted with their counsel, in my opinion he acted the prudent part: or, in case he regarded them as enemies, why then he showed his noble spirit, in being thus confident that they should discern no bad management, and no negligence in him. And these were the acts of Iphicrates.

Year before  
Christ 372.  
A peace nego-  
tiated.

But the Athenians, who now saw their friends, the Plataeans, driven out of Bœotia, and forced to take refuge at Athens, and the inhabitants of Thespiæ offering their petitions, that “they (the Athenians) would not stand quiet, and let them be stripped of their city,” could no longer approve the conduct of the Thebans. They were restrained by shame from an open rupture, and by the reflection too, that it would be prejudicial to their own interest. Yet they positively refused to act any more in participation with them, when



they saw them invade the Phocians, who had long been in friendship with the state of Athens, and utterly destroying cities that had been faithful in the war with the Barbarians, and steadily attached to themselves. The people of Athens were now persuaded to pass a decree for negotiating a peace, and accordingly sent, in the first place, ambassadors to Thebes, with an invitation to go with them to Lacedæmon, if it suited their own inclinations, about a peace. And then they despatched away their own ambassadors. The persons chosen for this employ, were Callias, the son of Hipponicus, Autocles, the son of Strombichides, Demostratus, the son of Aristophon, Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, Lycanthus. When they were admitted to audience before the council of state at Lacedæmon, and the confederates, Callistratus, the popular haranguer, was with them. He had promised Iphicrates, if he would give him his dismissal, either to procure him money for his fleet, or to make a peace: he accordingly had been at Athens, and solicited a peace. But when they were introduced to the council of state at Lacedæmon, and the confederates, Callias, whose office it was to bear the torch in the Eleusinian mysteries, was the first that spoke. He was a man that took as much delight in praising himself, as in being praised by others. He began on this occasion, and spoke to this effect:

“ I am not, Lacedæmonians, the only person of  
 “ my family who hath been the public host of  
 “ your community. My father, and his father  
 “ too, were so before me, and delivered the

Speech of  
 Callias.



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“ honour down to me as the privilege of my birth.

“ I am desirous, too, to persuade you all, that

“ Athens hath continually persisted in showing fa-

“ vour to us. For, whenever there is war, our Athens,

“ our own community, chooseth us to command

“ their armies; and when peace is again desired,

“ sendeth us to negotiate a peace. Nay, twice al-

“ ready have I been at Lacedæmon, to negotiate ac-

“ commodations; both times so successfully, that

“ I made peace between us and you. I am now a

“ third time employed, and think I have more

“ abundant reason than ever to depend upon a mu-

“ tual reconciliation. For now I see clearly, that

“ you are not intent upon one system, and we upon

“ another; but both of us are united in indigna-

“ tion, for the ruin of Plataea and Thespiæ.

“ What, therefore, can hinder men, whose senti-

“ ments are exactly the same, from choosing to be

“ friends, rather than enemies to one another?

“ It is, indeed, the part of wise men, not hastily

“ to have recourse to arms, even though consider-

“ able dissensions arise. But when their senti-

“ ments of things exactly coincide, will it not be

“ wonderful indeed, if such persons cannot agree

“ upon a peace? Common justice, it is true, hath

“ always laid it as a duty upon us, never to make

“ war upon one another. For it is acknowledged

“ by all the world, that our progenitor, Triptole-

“ mus, communicated the ineffable mysteries of

“ Ceres and Proserpine to Hercules, your founder,

“ and to the Dioscuri<sup>c</sup>, your countrymen, the first

<sup>c</sup> Castor and Pollux.



“ time he did it to foreigners ; and Peloponnesus  
 “ was the first foreign land on which he gene-  
 “ rously bestowed the fruits of Ceres. How,  
 “ therefore, could it be just, that you should ever  
 “ in an hostile manner enter upon the lands and  
 “ ravage the fruits of those from whom you first  
 “ received your seed? or, that we ever should  
 “ wish, that the very people on whom we be-  
 “ stowed it should not enjoy, in highest plenty,  
 “ the needful sustenance of life? But, if the fates  
 “ decree that war must take place amongst man-  
 “ kind, it is our part to begin it, on all occasions,  
 “ with the utmost reluctance ; and, when once  
 “ begun, to bring it to an end with our utmost  
 “ expedition.”

After him, Autocles, who was looked upon as an orator of great art and address, harangued them thus:

“ I am going to say some things, Lacedæmo-  
 “ nians, which I am very sensible you will not hear  
 “ with pleasure. But, I am well persuaded, that  
 “ men who are desirous of peace, and to settle  
 “ that peace in such a manner that it may be of  
 “ lasting continuance, should not be shy in put-  
 “ ting one another in remembrance of the reasons  
 “ of the previous wars. You, Lacedæmonians,  
 “ are ever giving out, that the cities of Greece  
 “ ought to be free and independent ; whilst, after  
 “ all, yourselves are the greatest hinderers of that  
 “ freedom and independence. The very first con-  
 “ dition you make with all the cities that enter  
 “ into your confederacy is, that they shall march  
 “ along with you wheresoever you lead them.

Speech of  
Autocles.



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“ And can this, in any shape, be consistent with  
“ freedom and independence? You declare ene-  
“ mies what people you please, without any pre-  
“ vious consultation of your confederates; and  
“ then lead on the latter to make war upon them;  
“ insomuch, that these free and independent  
“ people, as they are called, are often obliged to  
“ take the field against men to whom they bear  
“ the most benevolent affection.

“ Again, and what of all things is most repug-  
“ nant to a state of freedom and independence,  
“ you establish in some cities the government of  
“ ten, and in others of thirty, persons. You take  
“ no care at all, that these governors should rule  
“ according to laws, but merely, that by oppressive  
“ methods they keep the cities in fast subjection  
“ to yourselves. In a word, you have convinced  
“ mankind, that not a polity, but a tyranny, is  
“ most agreeable to your own inclinations.

“ When, farther, the Persian monarch signified  
“ his pleasure, that the cities should be free and  
“ independent, you then made frank and open  
“ declarations, that the Thebans could in no wise  
“ be judged to conform to the king's intention,  
“ unless they permitted each single city to be  
“ master of itself, and to make use of laws of their  
“ own proper choice. And yet, when you had  
“ seized the citadel of Thebes, you would not  
“ suffer even these Thebans to be free and  
“ independent.

“ Men, let me add, who sincerely desire peace,  
“ ought not to expect from others a thorough



“ compliance with their own demands, whilst  
“ they manifest an ambition to engross all power  
“ to themselves.”

When Autocles had spoken thus, the consequence was, not only a general silence in the assembly, but an inward pleasure in the hearts of those who were displeased at the Lacedæmonian conduct. But after him Callistratus spoke :

“ Far be it from me, Lacedæmonians, to think  
“ that I could truly aver, that nothing wrong  
“ hath been done either by you or by us. And  
“ I am as far from thinking, on the other hand,  
“ that all intercourse must for ever be stopped  
“ with men who once do wrong; because I can-  
“ not see any mortal alive, who goeth through  
“ life without committing some offence. It is  
“ rather my own opinion, that sometimes men  
“ who have offended become afterwards more  
“ tractable and better tempered; especially if  
“ they have been chastised for those offences, as  
“ we Athenians have been. I see, Lacedæmo-  
“ nians, in your behaviour too, some offences  
“ incurred for want of temper and reflection, for  
“ which you have since been abundantly crossed.  
“ But I shall produce no other instance of this at  
“ present, than your seizure of the citadel of  
“ Thebes. And hence it is, since this flagrant  
“ injury you did the Thebans, that all the cities  
“ in whose favour you once so earnestly exerted  
“ yourselves to restore them to freedom and in-  
“ dependence, have united with the Thebans  
“ against you. I hope you are now convinced  
“ how prejudicial it is to grasp at too much

Speech of Cal-  
listratus.



## BOOK VI.

“ power, and are resolved for the future to use  
“ moderation, and to be steady in reciprocal  
“ friendship with others.

“ There are people, I know, who, intending  
“ to dissuade you from a peace with us, mis-  
“ chievously insinuate, that we ask it not from  
“ sincerity of heart, but are brought hither by  
“ the fears we are under, lest Antalcidas may  
“ return with a fresh supply of money from the  
“ king of Persia. But consider, and be convinced,  
“ that such people are arrant triflers. The king,  
“ it is well known, hath told us in writing, that all  
“ the cities in Greece should be left free and inde-  
“ pendent. For our own parts, we conform both  
“ in word and deed to the intention of the king.  
“ What reason have we, therefore, to apprehend  
“ any thing from him? Is there a person so weak  
“ as to imagine, that the king had rather subject  
“ himself to a vast expense, and only to make  
“ other people great, than to accomplish what  
“ he thinketh is best for himself, without making  
“ any expense at all? Be it so. For what reason  
“ then are we come hither? Not because we are  
“ totally distressed; yourselves may perceive the  
“ contrary, if you will survey the present situa-  
“ tion of our affairs at sea, and if you will survey  
“ the situation of them too at land. But what  
“ then is our meaning? It is plain to be dis-  
“ cerned, since there are several of the confe-  
“ derates who behave in such a manner as can  
“ be pleasing neither to us nor to you. Perhaps,  
“ after all, our chief motive may be, to com-  
“ municate our own sentiments of things to you



“ in requital for the kindness you did us in pre-  
“ serving Athens.

“ But at present I shall only insist on the point  
“ of reciprocal interest. It is true of all the  
“ cities of Greece, that some by principle are  
“ more attached to us, and some to you: it is  
“ the case in every city, one party declares for  
“ the Lacedæmonian, and another for the Athe-  
“ nian interest. If we, therefore, unite in friend-  
“ ship with one another, from what quarter can  
“ we, with reason, expect any effectual opposi-  
“ tion? For who, in good truth, is the person,  
“ who, when you are our friends, can presume at  
“ doing us Athenians any harm by land? And  
“ who will dare to annoy you Lacedæmonians by  
“ sea, when we are cheerful and warm in your  
“ service? Wars, it must be granted, are for ever  
“ breaking out between us; and accommodations,  
“ as we well know, are soon again brought on.  
“ And though it be not our case at present, yet  
“ the case will happen again and again, that we  
“ shall be desirous of a peace with you. But  
“ what reason can there be to put off our recon-  
“ ciliation to that distant day, when, through the  
“ weight of distress, we may be grown quite des-  
“ perate, rather than to settle all things by an  
“ immediate peace, before an irremediable disaster  
“ hath taken place? For my part, I ingenuously  
“ own it, I never could commend those cham-  
“ pions in the public games, who, after a series  
“ of victory and a large acquisition of glory, are  
“ so litigiously ambitious of more, that they never



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“ can stop, till they are shamefully beaten and  
 “ compelled to forego the lists for ever after.  
 “ Nor can I commend those gamesters, who,  
 “ after having gained the stake, will suffer it to  
 “ be doubled, and throw again. Most of those  
 “ who play with so much avidity, I have seen  
 “ reduced to utter beggary. We ought, there-  
 “ fore, to catch instruction from such exam-  
 “ ples, and not reduce our contest to that  
 “ state of desperation, that we must either win  
 “ all or lose all. But whilst we yet are vigor-  
 “ ous, whilst we yet are happy, let us become  
 “ friends to one another. For then we through  
 “ you, and you through us, may yet make a  
 “ greater figure, than hitherto we have ever made  
 “ in Greece.”

A Peace con-  
 cluded with all  
 but the The-  
 bans.

This speech met with general approbation, and the Lacedæmonians passed a decree to sign a peace on the following terms:—“ To withdraw  
 “ their commanders out of the cities; to disband  
 “ all forces both by land and sea; and to leave  
 “ the cities in a state of freedom and indepen-  
 “ dence. And in case any of these commanders  
 “ refuse to withdraw, any city that was willing,  
 “ might assist the injured cities; but such as  
 “ were not willing, might refuse to act in de-  
 “ fence of the injured, without being guilty of a  
 “ breach of faith.” On these conditions, the Lacedæmonians swore to a peace for themselves and their confederates; the Athenians and their confederates swore severally in the name of their principals. Even the Thebans were entered down



by name in the list of the states that swore; but their ambassadors<sup>d</sup> made a fresh application the day after, and desired that “the name of Bœotians might be inserted instead of Thebans.” Agesilaus answered, that “he would not alter a letter of what they had already sworn to, and to which they had set their name. If, indeed, they had no mind to be comprehended in the peace (he said), he would readily at their own desire expunge their name.” And now, all others having signed the peace, and the Thebans being singly excluded, the Athenians were persuaded in their own minds, that the Thebans could no longer save themselves, even, as it is commonly said, by a decimation. The Thebans also, judging themselves in a desperate situation, went their way.

After this the Athenians withdrew their garrisons out of the cities. They also recalled Iphicrates and the fleet, whom they obliged to restore all captures they had made since the peace was sworn to at Lacedæmon. In like manner, the Lacedæmonians brought away their commandants and garrisons from the cities within their own dependence. Cleombrotus was excepted, who being now at the head of the troops in Phocis, sent to the magistracy of Lacedæmon for orders how to act. Prothous had already declared, that, in his sentiments, “they ought, according to oath, to disband their troops, and circulate an

Year before  
Christ 371.

<sup>d</sup> Epaminondas was one of them, and spoke with so much spirit on this occasion, that he sadly nettled Agesilaus.



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“ order to the cities, to make the present of a  
“ sum of money, but at their own discretion, to  
“ the temple of Apollo; and then, if any restraint  
“ was laid on the freedom and independence of  
“ those cities, they ought to call their confe-  
“ derates together, so many as should be willing  
“ to assert this independence, and lead them out  
“ against the authors of such restraint. For, by  
“ such behaviour (he said), it was his opinion, the  
“ gods would become more propitious to them,  
“ and the cities have the least ground for dis-  
“ content.” But the whole council of Lacedæ-  
mon, hearing him talk in this manner, looked  
upon him as a very trifler, (for already it should  
seem as if the wrath of heaven was driving them  
on,) and despatched an order to Cleombrotus, not  
to disband his troops, but to march immediately  
against the Thebans, unless they set the cities at  
liberty. Cleombrotus, I say, so soon as he heard  
the peace was made, sent to the Ephori for in-  
structions how to act, who ordered him to march  
against the Thebans, unless they set the cities of  
Bœotia at liberty. When, therefore, he was be-  
come assured, that so far from setting those cities  
in liberty, they had not so much as disbanded  
their army, but kept them in readiness to make  
head against him, he marcheth his army into  
Bœotia. He took not the route which the Bœo-  
tians imagined he would have taken out of Phocis,  
and had posted themselves in a narrow pass to  
stop him; but, on a sudden, crossing the moun-  
tains by the pass of Thisbe, he arriveth at Crusis,  
taketh the fortress there, and seizeth twelve



triremes belonging to the Thebans. Having done this, and marched upwards from the sea, he encamped at Leuctra, in the district of Thespiæ. The Thebans<sup>e</sup> encamped their own troops on an opposite hill at no great distance from the enemy, having none of their confederates with them but those of Bœotia.

The friends of Cleombrotus went to him here, and discoursed him thus:—"If, Cleombrotus, you now suffer these Thebans to depart without a battle, you will be in danger of the severest punishment from the state. They will then remember against you, how formerly, when you reached Cynoscephale, you committed no manner of devastation on the lands of the Thebans; and that in the next campaign you were not able so much as to enter their country, though Agesilaus always broke in by the pass of Cithæron. If, then, you regard your own preservation, or have any value at all for your country, you must give the enemy battle." His friends discoursed him thus. His enemies said—"Now will this man convince the world, whether or no he be a friend to the Thebans, as fame reporteth him." Cleombrotus of a truth, hearing these insinuations, was provoked to fight.

On the other side, the chief men amongst the Thebans were reckoning, "that if they did not fight, the circumjacent cities would revolt from them, and they must suffer a siege in Thebes;

<sup>e</sup> Epaminondas was their commander in chief.



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“ and then, should the people of Thebes be distressed for want of necessaries, an insurrection might be the consequence.” Many of them knew, by experience, what exile was; they determined, therefore, “ it was better to die in battle than to become exiles a second time.” An oracle much talked of was also some encouragement to them. It imported, that “ the Lacedæmonians would be conquered on that spot of ground where stood the monument of the virgins,” who are reported to have killed themselves<sup>f</sup>, because they had been violated by some

<sup>f</sup> Other writers differ in this circumstance. Plutarch relateth the whole story thus: “ A poor man, whose name was Scedasus, dwelt at Leuctra, a village in the district of Thespiæ. He had two daughters; their names were Hippo and Militia, or (as some say), Theano and Euxippe. Now Scedasus was a good man, and, though his substance was very small, exceedingly kind to strangers. He received with cheerful hospitality two young Spartans who came to his house; and they, though enamoured with the daughters, were so awed by Scedasus’s goodness, that they durst make no attempt upon them. And, next day, they continued their journey to the Pythian Oracle, whither they were going. But, after consulting the god about the points in which they wanted his advice, they set out again for their own homes; and, after travelling through Bœotia, stopped again, in their return, at the house of Scedasus. It happened that Scedasus himself was absent at this time from Leuctra, but his daughters received the strangers, and entertained them with the usual hospitality, who, finding them thus without protection or defence, commit a rape upon them. But, perceiving them full of indignation for the violence they had suffered, they put them to death, and then throwing their bodies into a well, they went their way. Scedasus, on his return, could see his daughters no where, and yet found every thing in the house as safe as he had left it. He knew not what to think, till a bitch whining at him, then several times



Lacedæmonians. The Thebans, therefore, adorned this monument before the battle. Intelligence

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running up to him and away from him again to the well, he guessed how it was, and at length draweth up, by ropes, the dead bodies of his daughters. Learning now, upon inquiry from his neighbours, that they had seen the very Lacedæmonians who had formerly lodged with him go into his house again the day before, he concluded them to be the murderers, since, on their first visit, they had abundantly praised the young lasses, and affirmed that their husbands would be very happy. He now set out for Lacedæmon, to beg justice from the Ephori. Night came upon him whilst he was in the territory of Argos, and he turned in to an inn to lodge. There came into the same inn another traveller, an old man of Oreus, a city of the Hesticeæ. Scedasus, hearing him often groan and curse the Lacedæmonians, asked him what hurt the Lacedæmonians had done him? The traveller told him a dreadful story about the murder of his son by a Lacedæmonian commandant, and, though he had been with the Ephori at Sparta, they would not at all listen to his complaints. Scedasus, having heard this story, was all despondency. He suspected the magistrates of Sparta would listen as little to himself. Yet he related some part of his calamity to the stranger, who advised him not to have recourse to the Ephori, but to return into Bœotia, and build a tomb for his daughters. Scedasus, however, would not comply with his advice; but, going on to Sparta, laid his complaint before the Ephori. As they gave him no attention, he presenteth himself before the kings; and, going from them to all the men in power, he let them know his deplorable case. But, obtaining no justice from them, he ran through the midst of the city, now raising his hands towards the sun, and now dashing them against the ground, invoking the furies to avenge him, and at length put an end to his own life. But, in after times, the Lacedæmonians paid dearly for it: for, when they were masters over all the Greeks, and had put garrisons into their cities, Epaminondas the Theban, to set a pattern to others, put their garrison in Thebes to the sword. And the Lacedæmonians, for this reason, making war upon them, the Thebans met them in the field at Leuctra. The very ground was an omen to them of



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was also brought them from Thebes, that all the temples had opened of their own accord, and the priestesses declared that the gods awarded them a victory. All the arms in the temple of Hercules were also said to have disappeared, as if Hercules himself was sallied forth to battle. Some persons after all pretend, that these things were only the artifices of the generals.

Battle of  
Leuctra.

In regard to the battle, every thing turned out cross on the side of the Lacedæmonians, whilst fortune smoothed every difficulty on the side of the enemy. It was just after dinner that Cleombrotus held the last council about a battle. They had drunk briskly at noon, and it was said that the wine also was a provocative to fight. But, when each side was armed, and it was plain a battle would be fought,—In the first place, the

victory. On it formerly they had recovered their liberty, when Amphictyon, driven into exile by Sthenelus, had refuged himself at Thebes, and, finding the Thebans tributary to the Chalcideans, had put an end to the tribute by killing Chalcodon, king of the Eubœans. And now, on the same spot, the Lacedæmonians were totally defeated at the very tomb of the daughters of Scedasus. It is said, that before the battle, Pelopidas, one of the Theban generals, was highly alarmed at some incidents that he thought boded him ill success, till Scedasus appeared to him in a dream, and inspired him with new confidence, since the Lacedæmonians were now caught at Leuctra, and must suffer vengeance for his daughters: and the day before the battle was fought, he ordered a white colt to be sacrificed at the tomb of the virgins; nay, that, whilst the Lacedæmonians were encamped at Tegea, he sent persons to find out this tomb; and, when he had learned from the people of the country where it stood, he marched his troops with high confidence to the spot, where he drew them up and gained a victory." Plutarch's *Love-Stories*.



sellers of provisions, and some of the baggage-men, all such as had no inclination to fight, were departing from the camp of the Bœotians. But the mercenaries with Hiero, the targeteers from Phocis, and the horsemen from Heraclea and Phlius, fetched a compass, and meeting them full in their departure, drove them back, and pursued them to the Bœotian camp. The consequence was, they made the Bœotian army stronger and more numerous than it was before. In the next place, as there was a plain between them, the Lacedæmonians drew up and posted their horse before their phalanx; the Thebans also did the same. But then the horse of the Thebans had been long in exercise, because of the war against the Orchomenians and the war against the Thespians; whereas the Lacedæmonian cavalry had never been in a worse condition than at present. The horses were furnished by the wealthiest persons of the state; and, when a foreign expedition was declared, then came the appointed rider, who, receiving such an horse and such arms as they pleased to give him, went immediately on service. And thus the weakest in body, and the worst spirited part of the soldiery, were generally mounted on the horses. Such, truly, was the cavalry on both sides. In the Lacedæmonian phalanx it was said, that every platoon was drawn up three in front; consequently, in depth they could not be more than twelve. But the Thebans were drawn up firm together not less than fifty shields in depth; reckoning, that could they break the body of the enemy posted round



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Cleombrotus  
killed.

the king, all the rest of the army would be an easy conquest.

But, so soon as Cleombrotus began to advance towards the enemy, and even before the bulk of the army knew that he was in motion, the horse had already engaged, and those of the Lacedæmonians were immediately defeated, and in their flight fell in amongst their own heavy-armed: and at that instant, the heavy-armed of the Thebans had made their attack. However, that the body posted round Cleombrotus had at first the better in the fight, any man may have clear and certain proof from hence:—For they could not have taken him up and carried him off yet alive, unless those who fought before him had the better of it at that instant of time. But, when Cleombrotus was dead, and Dinon, a general officer, and Sphodrias of the king's council of war, and his son Cleonymus, were also slain, then the horse-guard, and the adjutants of the general officer and the rest, being quite overpowered by the weight of the enemy, were forced to retire. The Lacedæmonians, who composed the left, when they saw the right thus driven from their ground, quitted their own ground too. Yet, after a terrible slaughter and a total defeat, so soon as they had repassed the trench which was round their camp, they grounded their arms on the very spot from whence they had marched out to battle; for the ground of their camp was not quite on a level, it was rather an ascent. And now there were some of the Lacedæmonians, who, judging their defeat to be



an insupportable disgrace, declared against suffering the enemy to erect a trophy, against fetching off their dead by truce, but rather to endeavour to recover them by another battle. But the general officers, who saw that in all near a thousand Lacedæmonians were slain; who saw, that of seven hundred Spartans belonging to their army, about four hundred were killed; who perceived, besides, that all the confederates were averse to fighting again, and some of them too not even sorry for what had happened; calling a council of the most proper persons, demanded their advice of what ought to be done. And, when it was unanimously agreed, that "they ought to fetch off the dead by truce," they sent a herald to beg the truce. And then truly the Thebans erected a trophy and delivered up the dead.

These things being done, a messenger sent to Lacedæmon with the news of this calamity arriveth there on the last day of the naked games, and when the chorus of men had just made their entry. The Ephori, when they heard of the calamity, were grievously concerned, and, in my opinion, could not possibly avoid it; but they ordered not the chorus to withdraw, letting them finish the games. And then they sent round the names of the dead to the relations of each, with an order to the women to make no noise, and to bear the calamity in silence. But the day after, such persons as were related to any of the slain appeared in public, and the signs of pleasure and joy were visible in their faces; whilst you could see but few of those whose relations were reported to be

Notified at  
Sparta.



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yet alive, and they too walked up and down discontented and dejected.

In the next place, the Ephori ordered the two remaining brigades to march, not excepting such persons as had been forty years in the service. They ordered out also such of the same standing as belonged to the brigades already abroad. For such as had been thirty-five years in the service marched out before in the army that went against the Phocians. They even enjoined the very persons who were left at home to serve the offices of state to march out on this occasion. Agesilaus, indeed, was not yet recovered of his illness: the state, therefore, ordered his son Archidamus to take upon him the command. The Tegeatæ with great cheerfulness took the field along with Archidamus: for the party of Stasippus, ever strongly attached to the Lacedæmonians, were yet alive, and had a very great influence at Tegea. The Mantineans too, with all their strength, marched out of their villages and joined him, for they were under an aristocratical government. The Corinthians too, and Sicyonians, and Phliasians, and Achæans, very cheerfully followed him; and other cities too sent out their troops. The Lacedæmonians immediately fitted out their own triremes; the Corinthians did the same, and begged the Sicyonians to do so too, as the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of transporting the army by sea. And, in the mean-time, Archidamus was offering sacrifices for a successful expedition.

Notified at  
Athens.

The Thebans, immediately after the battle, despatched a herald to Athens with a garland on his



head, whom they ordered, at the same time, to notify the greatness of the victory, and to request their aid, saying, that “now it was in their power” to be revenged on the Lacedæmonians for all “the evil they had ever done them.” The senate of Athens happened to be sitting in the citadel. And when they heard the news, it was plain to all men that they were heartily mortified at it. For they neither invited the herald to take any refreshment, nor made any reply to the request of aid. And in this manner the herald returned from Athens.

The Thebans, however, sent in all haste to Jason And to Jason. their ally, pressing him to come and join them. Their thoughts were wholly intent on what might be the consequence of this battle. Jason at once manned out his triremes, as if he would repair by sea to their assistance; but then, taking with him his body of mercenaries and his own horse, even though the Phocians were in implacable hostility with him, he marched by land into Bœotia, making his entry into several cities before any news could be brought that he was on the march. And, before any strength could be collected to stop him, he was advanced quite beyond their reach; exhibiting a certain proof, that expedition carrieth a point much better than strength. And, when he was gotten into Bœotia, the Thebans declaring for an immediate attack on the Lacedæmonians, Jason to pour down upon them from the hills with his mercenaries, whilst themselves charged them full in front, he dissuaded them from it, remonstrating to them, that “after so noble a



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“ victory, it was not worth their while to run the  
“ hazard of either gaining a greater, or losing the  
“ fruits of the victory already gained. Are you  
“ not aware (said he) that you have just now  
“ conquered, because you were necessitated to  
“ fight? You should remember, therefore, that  
“ the Lacedæmonians, when necessitated too to  
“ fight for their very beings, will fight with the  
“ utmost desperation. And God, it must be  
“ owned, often taketh delight in making the little  
“ great, and the great little.” By such remon-  
strances he dissuaded the Thebans from running  
any fresh hazards. On the other side he was  
teaching the Lacedæmonians what a difference  
there was between a vanquished and a victorious  
army.—“ If, therefore, (said he), you are desirous  
“ to extinguish the memory of your late calamity,  
“ I advise you to breathe a while; and when you  
“ are grown stronger, then to fight again against  
“ these unconquered Thebans. But at present  
“ (said he), you may rest assured, that there are  
“ some, even of your own confederates, who are  
“ in treaty with your enemies. By all means  
“ endeavour to obtain a peace for yourselves. I  
“ will equally endeavour to procure one for you,  
“ as I desire nothing but your preservation, be-  
“ cause of the friendship my father had for you,  
“ and because I myself, by the laws of hospitality,  
“ am connected with you.” In this manner he  
talked; and his motive possibly might be, that  
both these discordant parties might be reduced to  
a dependence upon himself. The Lacedæmonians,  
therefore, having hearkened to his advice, desired



him to procure them a peace. But, so soon as word was brought them that a peace was granted, the general officers issued out an order, for all the troops to be ready immediately after supper, since they should march off by night; that next morning, by day-break, they might pass Mount Cithæron. When supper was over, before they could sleep, the order was issued for a march, and immediately after the shut of evening their officers led them off by the road of Crusis, confiding more in the secrecy of their march than in the peace. And, after a very difficult march indeed, since it was by night, in a very dejected mood, and through very bad roads, they reach Ægosthena in the territory of Megara. There they met with the army under the command of Archidamus. He halted there with them till all the confederates were come in, and then led them off, in one body, to Corinth. At Corinth he dismissed the confederates, and led home the domestic troops to Lacedæmon.

As to Jason, he returned back through Phocis, where he took the suburbs of Hyampolis, laid the adjacent country waste, and slew many persons; and then continued his march forwards through the rest of Phocis in an orderly and quiet manner. But when he was come to Heraclea, he demolished the fortifications of that place. It is plain he was under no fear of opening a road to an enemy against himself by laying open this important pass. In fact, his true motive was, lest any should seize Heraclea, that is situated so commodiously in the streight, and hinder him from marching into Greece at his own pleasure. On his return into

The great power  
of Jason.



## BOOK VI.

Year before  
Christ 370.

Thessaly, he became great indeed, as well because by law he was supreme governor of the Thessalians, as because he kept constantly about him a large body of mercenary troops, both horse and foot, and these so finely disciplined as to excel all other troops in the world. He was greater still through the large number of confederates he already had, and the number of those who were desirous of his alliance. But he was greatest of all in his own personal character, since no man could despise him. The Pythian games were now approaching; he therefore circulated his orders to the cities to fatten oxen and sheep, and goats, and swine, and prepare for the sacrifice. It was said, that though a moderate number was demanded from each separate city, yet the number of oxen amounted to not less than a thousand, and all other cattle together rose, in number, to above ten thousand. He also made public proclamation, that whatever city fed the finest ox to lead up the sacrifice to the god, should be rewarded with a prize of a golden crown. He also issued out his orders to the Thessalians to be ready to take the field at the time of the Pythian games. For he intended, as was said, to preside himself in the solemn assembly at the games in honour of the god. Whether, indeed, he had any intention to meddle with the sacred treasures, remaineth yet uncertain. For it is reported, that when the Delphians asked—“What must be done, in case Jason meddled with the treasures of the god?” the answer of the god was—“he himself would take care of that.” Yet, after all, this extraordinary man,



big with such great and splendid schemes, when, after reviewing and scrutinizing the condition of the cavalry of Pheræ, he had set himself down, and was giving answers to such as were offering petitions, is assassinated and murdered by seven young men, who came up to him with an air of having a dispute for him to settle. His guards, indeed, who were at hand, bestirred themselves with spirit; and one of the assassins, whilst striking at Jason, was killed by the thrust of a spear; another was stopped as he was getting on horse-back, and put to death by a great number of wounds; but the rest mounted the horses, that were ready prepared for them, and made their escape; and, in whatever cities of Greece they afterwards appeared, were generally received with honour. From whence it is plain, how much the Grecians dreaded Jason, lest he should turn out a tyrant.

BOOK VI.

His murder.

After the murder of Jason, Polydorus, his brother, and Polyphron, were appointed supreme leaders of Thessaly. But, as they were going in company to Larissa, Polydorus dieth suddenly in his bed by night, and, as was judged, by the hands of his brother Polyphron. His death, certainly, was very sudden, and there was no other probable method of accounting for it. Polyphron held the supremacy for a year, and behaved in his office quite like a tyrant. For, at Pharsalus, he put to death Polydamas and eight more of the most illustrious Pharsalians, and from Larissa drove several persons into exile. For these outrageous acts he too is killed by Alexander, who pretended

An account of his successors.



## BOOK VI.

to be avenging the death of Polydorus and demolishing the tyranny. But, when he had gotten the power in his own hands, he proved a terrible governor indeed to the Thessalians, terrible also to the Thebans, an enemy further to the Athenians, and an arrant robber both by land and sea. Such was his real character, and as such he is put to death by the hands of his wife's brothers, but entirely by her contrivance. For she told her brothers, that Alexander had a design upon their lives: she concealed them, therefore, a whole day in the house. She received Alexander quite drunk into her chamber at night; and, as soon as he was asleep, she left the lamp still burning, but carried out his sword. And, when she perceived that her brothers were afraid of going into the chamber to kill him, she told them, if they boggled any longer, she would go and awake him. So soon as they were in it, she herself secured the door, and held the bolt in her hand till her husband was despatched. The reason of her enmity to Alexander is supposed to be this, that Alexander had imprisoned his page, a beautiful youth, and when she begged hard for his liberty, he brought him out and put him to death. Others say, it was because, having no children by her, he had sent to Thebes and entered into engagements to marry Jason's widow. The reasons of this plot against his life by the lady are given in this manner. But Tisiphonus, the eldest of the brothers who were agents in his murder, succeeded to his power, and hath continued in possession of it till the time this history is writing. And thus the affairs



of Thessaly, under the management of Jason, and down to the time of Tisiphonus, have now been opened. I return to the place from whence I digressed to give this recital.

When Archidamus, who had marched to the relief of those at Leuctra, had brought the army back, the Athenians began to reflect, that the Peloponnesians would still reckon it their duty to follow the Lacedæmonians, who were not yet reduced so low as they had reduced the Athenians. They summoned, therefore, the states, who were willing to be parties in the peace prescribed by the king of Persia. When all were assembled, they decreed, in conjunction with those who were willing to be parties, that the following oath should be taken:—"I will abide by the peace which the king hath sent, and the decrees of the Athenians and their confederates. And, in case any enemy maketh war upon any state that hath taken this oath, I will assist that state with all my strength." All others present were satisfied with this oath; but the Eleans objected to it, "since they ought not thus to make the Marganians and Scilluntians, and Triphyllians, free and independent, all whose cities belonged to them." The Athenians, however, and the rest, having ratified the decree according to the king's mandate, that "the cities, whether great or small, should be left equally free and independent," sent out a deputation to administer the oath, and ordered that "the chief magistrates in every city should take it." And all took this oath except the Eleans.

Consequences  
of the battle of  
Leuctra in  
Greece.



## BOOK VI.

Resettlement of  
Mantineia.

The consequence was, that the Mantineans, who now looked upon themselves as sovereign masters of their own concerns, assembled together in a body, and resolved to settle again in the city of Mantineia and fortify it as their own. But, on the other hand, the Lacedæmonians judged, that if this was done without their consent, they should be much aggrieved. They send Agesilaus, therefore, ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was esteemed their hereditary friend. At his arrival, the men in power would not grant him an audience of the people, but ordered him to communicate his business to them alone. He then made them a promise, that “if they would desist, “at present, from fortifying Mantineia, he would “engage that the state of Lacedæmon should “soon consent to it, and ease them in the ex- “pense of doing it.” But when they answered, that “it was impossible to desist, since their “whole community had joined in the resolution “for doing it,” Agesilaus, in great wrath, departed. It was not, however, judged possible to stop them by force, since the grand article of peace was freedom and independence. And now some cities of Arcadia sent in their people to the Mantineans, to assist them in carrying on the fortification; and the Eleans presented them with thirty talents<sup>s</sup> of silver towards defraying the expense of the work. And in this manner were the Mantineans very busy.

A sedition at  
Tegea.

At Tegea the party of Callibius and Proxenus were striving to get a general meeting of the

<sup>s</sup> Five thousand nine hundred and thirty-two pounds ten shillings.



whole body of Arcadians ; in which, whatever measures were voted by a majority, should have the force of laws to all their cities. But the party of Stasippus was for leaving each city in its present separation and in the enjoyment of their primitive constitutions. The party of Proxenus and Callibius, who were overpowered in all the sessions, imagining that, in a general assembly of the people, they should quite out-vote their opponents, bring out their arms. The party of Stasippus perceiving this, armed also to oppose them, and were not inferior to them in number. But when they came to an engagement, they kill Proxenus and a few more with him ; and, though they put the others to flight, went not after them in pursuit. For Stasippus was a man of that temper, that he would not put many of his fellow-citizens to death. But those with Callibius having retreated to the part of the wall and the gates towards Mantinea, as their enemy gave them no farther annoyance, posted themselves there in a body. They had sent beforehand to the Mantineans to beg assistance, and the party of Stasippus now came to them with proposals of reconciliation. But the Mantineans no sooner appeared in sight, than some, leaping upon the wall, pressed them to advance with their utmost expedition, shouting aloud at them to make all possible haste, whilst others throw open the gates for their entrance. When the party of Stasippus found out what was done, they make their escape through the gates that lead to Palantium, and, before their pursuers could overtake them, fly away in safety to the



## BOOK VI.

temple of Diana, where they shut themselves up, and remained in quiet. But their enemies, who came up in pursuit, after climbing the temple and stripping off the roof, pelted them with tiles. Conscious, therefore, of their own distressful situation, they begged them to stop their hands, and promised to come out. But their enemies, after thus getting them in their power, bound them fast, and, putting them in a carriage, drove them back to Tegea; and there, supported by the Mantineans, they formally put them to death. And after this, the Tegeatæ, who were of the party of Stasippus, to the number of about eight hundred, fled to Lacedæmon.

Agesilaus takes  
the field.

The Lacedæmonians now resolved it to be their duty to take the field with the utmost haste in the cause of the dead and the exiled Tegeatæ. Accordingly they make war upon the Mantineans, because, contrary to their oaths, they had marched in a hostile manner against the Tegeatæ. The Ephori proclaimed a foreign expedition, and the state ordered Agesilaus to take upon him the command. The rest of the Arcadians were, by this time, assembled at Asea; but, as the Orcho-menians had declared against all participation in the Arcadian league, because of their enmity to the Mantineans, and had even received into their city a body of mercenaries commanded by Polytropus, which had been drawn together at Corinth, the Mantineans staid at home to look after their own concerns. But the Heræans and Lepreatæ joined with the Lacedæmonians in marching against the Mantineans. And Agesilaus, when



the sacrifices for a successful expedition were finished, marched, without loss of time, into Arcadia. BOOK VI.

He first took possession of Eutæa, a town on the frontier. He found in the houses of this place, old men, women, and children, whilst all the fighting men were gone to join the Arcadic body. He did no harm at all to the city, but suffered these people still to continue in the houses, and his soldiers paid regularly for whatever they wanted. Or, if any thing had been taken by force when he entered the place, after a proper search he caused it to be restored. He also repaired such parts of the walls as needed it, whilst he halted there in expectation of the mercenaries under Polytropus.

In the mean-time the Mantineans take the field against the Orchomenians. But, after showing themselves before the walls, they found it a work of toil to make good their retreat, and some of them were slain on this occasion. But, when they had secured their retreat as far as to Elymia, and the heavy-armed Orchomenians no longer pursued them, whilst the body under Polytropus kept plying on their rear with great impetuosity, the Mantineans were now convinced, that, unless they could beat them back, a great part of their own people would perish by the missive weapons; upon which they suddenly faced about, and advancing close up to them, gave the charge. And there Polytropus died fighting. The rest taking to flight, many of them had been slain, had not the Phliasian horse come up that instant, and, by



BOOK VI. riding round to the rear of the Mantineans, obliged them to stop all pursuit. And, after these transactions, the Mantineans departed to their own home.

He invades  
Mantineia.

Agesilaus, having heard these things, and judging now that the mercenaries from Orchomenus would not join him, set forwards from Eutæa. After the first day's march he supped his army in the district of Tegea; but in the second day's march he passeth over into the dominions of Mantineia, and encamped under the mountains of Mantineia which lay to the west; and from thence he ravaged the country, and laid waste all the cultivated ground. The Arcadians, however, who had assembled at Asea, marched by night into Tegea. The next day Agesilaus encamped his army at the distance of about <sup>h</sup>twenty stadia from Mantineia. The Arcadians from Tegea were now approaching with a very numerous body of heavy-armed, marching between the mountains of Mantineia and Tegea, and bent on completing their junction with the Mantineans. The Argives, however, had not yet joined them with all their force. Some persons, therefore, advised Agesilaus to attack them before the Argives came up. But, apprehensive that, whilst he was advancing against them, the Mantineans might sally out of their city, and then he might be attacked both in flank and rear, he judged it most prudent to let them complete their junction; and then, if they had a mind to fight, he could engage them upon fair

<sup>h</sup> About two miles.



and equal terms. But now that the Arcadians had completed this junction, when the targeteers from Orchomenus, accompanied by the horsemen from Phlius, after marching by night under the walls of Mantinea, appear, at break of day, within the view of Agesilaus, who was sacrificing in the front of the camp, they made all others run to their posts, and Agesilaus retire to his heavy-armed. But, when they were discovered to be friends, and Agesilaus had sacrificed with favourable omens, after dinner he led the army forwards; and, at the approach of night, he encamped, unobserved by the enemy, in a valley behind but very near Mantinea, and surrounded on all sides by mountains. The next day, so soon as it was light, he sacrificed in the front of his camp: and discovering that the Mantineans were come out of the city, and gathering together on the mountains in the rear of his camp, he found the necessity of getting out of this valley without loss of time. But now, in case he led the way in the van, he was apprehensive the enemy might attack his rear. He therefore stood to his post, and, making the heavy-armed face towards the enemy, he ordered those in the rear to make a wheel to the right, and march behind the phalanx on towards him. In this manner he got them out of this narrow ground, and was continually adding strength to the phalanx. And, when once it was doubled, he advanced into the plain with his heavy-armed in this arrangement, and then opened the whole army again into files of nine or ten shields in depth. The Mantineans, however, gave him no



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opposition. For the Eleans, who now had joined them, persuaded them by no means to give him battle till the Thebans were come up. They said, “they were well assured the Thebans would soon be with them, since themselves had lent them ten talents<sup>1</sup> to forward their march.” And the Arcadians, hearing this account, rested quietly in Mantinea.

He retires without fighting.

But Agesilaus, though vastly desirous to march the army off, for it was now the middle of winter, yet continued three days longer in his post, at no great distance from the city of Mantinea, that he might not seem to be too much in a hurry to be gone. Yet, on the fourth day, after dinner, he led them off with a design to encamp on the ground he had encamped on before, after the first day's march from Eutæa. But, as none of the Arcadians appeared in sight, he marched with all speed quite as far as Eutæa, though it was exceeding late before he reached it, desirous to carry off the heavy-armed before they could see the enemy's fires, that no one might say his departure was a flight. He judged that he had done enough to raise the spirits of his countrymen after the late dejection with which they had been oppressed, since he had broken into Arcadia, and no one durst give him battle whilst he was laying the country waste. And, so soon as he was returned into Laconia, he sent the Spartans home, and dismissed the neighbouring people to their respective cities.

<sup>1</sup> One thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven pounds ten shillings.



The Arcadians, now that Agesilaus was gone, and, as they heard, had disbanded the army, since they were all assembled in a body, march against the Heræans, because they would not be associated in the Arcadian league, and had joined the Lacedæmonians in the invasion of Arcadia. They broke into their country, where they set the houses on fire, and cut down the trees. But, as now they received intelligence that the Theban aid was come to Mantinea, they evacuate Heræa and join the Thebans. When they were thus all together, the Thebans thought they had done enough for their honour, since they had marched to the aid of their friends, and found the enemy had quite evacuated their country, and therefore they were preparing to return home. But the Arcadians, and Argives, and Eleans, persuaded them to march, without loss of time, into Laconia, expatiating much on their own numbers, and crying up to the skies this Theban army<sup>k</sup>: for, in fact, the Bœotians had kept to the constant exercise of arms ever since they had been elated with their victory at Leuctra. They were now attended by the Phocians, whom they had reduced to subjection; by the people of every city in Eubœa; by both the Locrians, and the Acarnanians, and the Heracleots, and the Maliensians. They had also with them some horsemen and targeteers from Thessaly. Delighted with so fine an army, and insisting on the desolate condition of Lacedæmon, they earnestly entreated them, “not to

Year before  
Christ 369.  
Invasion of  
Laconia.

<sup>k</sup> Epaminondas and Pelopidas were chief commanders of it.



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“go home again without making an irruption  
“into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians.”  
The Thebans, after giving them the hearing,  
alleged on the other side, that “to break into  
“Laconia was a very difficult undertaking at best,  
“and they took it for granted that proper guards  
“were posted at the places that were easiest of  
“access.” For, in fact, Ischolaus kept guard at  
Ium in the Skiritis with a party of four hundred  
men, consisting of Spartans newly enfranchised,  
and the most active exiles from Tegea. There  
was also another guard posted at Leuctra in the  
Maleatis. The Thebans reckoned besides, that  
the whole strength of the Lacedæmonians would  
soon be drawn together, and would never fight  
better than on their own ground. All these things  
occurred to their reflection, and they showed no  
eagerness to march against Lacedæmon. But,  
when some persons came from Caryæ, who con-  
firmed the account of their desolate state, and  
even undertook to be the guides of their march,  
with a frank desire “to be put to death if they  
“deceived them in any point;” and some people  
also, of the neighbourhood of Sparta, arrived with  
an invitation for them to come on, and a promise  
to revolt, if they would only show themselves in  
the country; adding, that “some of those people,  
“distinguished by the title of their neighbours,  
“would not give the Spartans the least assistance:”  
hearing all this, and from all persons too, the  
Thebans were at length persuaded. They broke  
in with their own army by way of Caryæ, and the  
Arcadians by the pass of the Skiritis. But, if



Ischolaus had posted himself on their route in the most difficult part of the ascent, they said, not a single person could have entered by that pass. Yet, willing now to have the joint aid of the people of Ium, he had continued in that village. The Arcadians mounted the ascent in very numerous bodies. And here the soldiers under Ischolaus, so long as they had the enemy only in their front, had greatly the superiority over them; but, when they were gotten in their rear and on their flanks, and climbing up to the tops of houses, were galling and pouring their javelins upon them, then Ischolaus himself and all his people were slain, except a person or two of no note, who might possibly escape. And the Arcadians, having thus successfully carried their point, marched on, and joined the Thebans at Caryæ<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The army, now under Epaminondas, consisted of not fewer than forty thousand heavy-armed. The light-armed were also very numerous; and numbers, without any arms at all, were following for plunder; so that the number of enemies which now invaded Laconia, was not less than seventy thousand men. It was seven hundred years since the Dorians had settled in Lacedæmon; and, during this long period of time, no enemy had ever before been seen in Laconia, none had ever dared to invade the Spartans. Yet now, an enemy was laying waste with fire and sword, and without any resistance too, a country that never before had suffered devastation. Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to expose themselves against so impetuous a flood and torrent of war; but, having secured all the passes and eminences about Sparta with the heavy-armed, he heard with patience the threats and bravadoes of the enemy, who called out upon him by name, and bade him come out and fight for his country, since he was the author of all her distresses, and had raised this war. Nor was his patience less severely tried by the tumultuous, clamorous, and disorderly behaviour of



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The Thebans, when they knew what had been done by the Arcadians, marched down into the country with much more spirit than before. They immediately put Sellasia to fire and sword; and, when they were gotten into the plains, encamped themselves within the verge of the temple of Apollo: but next day they continued their march. They made no attempt, however, to pass the bridge towards Sparta, for the heavy-armed were seen posted in the temple at Alea; but keeping the Eurotas on their right, they continued their march, setting on fire and demolishing the houses, with all their grand and costly furniture. The women in Sparta had not spirits enough to look at the smoke, since never before had they seen an enemy. The citizens of Sparta,

the elder Spartans, who were all rage and vexation; whilst the women too could not contain, but were quite mad and frantic at the shouts and fires of the enemy. He was sadly alarmed about his own reputation, since, though Sparta had never been so great and powerful as when he succeeded to the government, he now saw her glory in grievous diminution, and his own big speeches proved insolent and vain; for it had been his frequent boast, that "no woman at Sparta had ever seen an enemy's smoke." It is said too, that Antalcidas, when once disputing with an Athenian about the bravery of their countrymen, and the latter saying, "We have often drove you from the Cephissus," replied briskly, "But we never drove you from the Eurotas." An answer of the same spirited kind is also ascribed to a more obscure Spartan, as made to an Argive: "Many of your countrymen," said the latter, "are interred in Argolica:"—"True," cried the Spartan, "but not one of yours in Laconia." And yet some affirm that Antalcidas, though at this very time one of the Ephori, was under such a consternation, that he conveyed away his children to the island of Cythera. *Plutarch's Life of Agesilaus.*



whose city had no wall round it, were stationed in different posts. Their number at each guard was thin in fact, and appeared so too. But the magistrates thought proper to acquaint the Helots by proclamation, that “if any of them were willing to take up arms and go into the ranks, the public faith was pledged, that all who assisted in this war should henceforth be free.” It was said, that more than six thousand of them immediately gave in their names; so that, when formed into ranks, they struck a terror, and seemed to be quite too many. But when the mercenaries from Orchomenus agreed to stay with them, and the Phliasians, and Corinthians, and Epidaurians, and Pellenians, and the troops of some other cities, were come up to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, they began to be less in fear about the number of Helots who gave in their names.

When the army of the enemy was advanced to Amyclæ, they there passed the Eurotas<sup>m</sup>. As for the Thebans, whenever they encamped, they immediately cut down the trees, and piled up as many of them as they could before their lines, and so kept upon their guard. But the Arcadians scorned all such precautions: they left their arms, and minded nothing but breaking and plundering of houses. The third or fourth day after, the horse advanced in regular

<sup>m</sup> Epaminondas, as he was marching at the head of his troops, was pointed out to Agesilaus, who, looking steadfastly at him for a time, and sending his eyes after him as he passed on, dropped only these words—“Oh! that glorious man!”



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array to the Hippodrome and temple of Neptune; all the horse of the Thebans and Eleans, and so many of the Phocian and Thessalian horse as were at hand. The Lacedæmonian horse, whose numbers appeared very thin indeed, were drawn up to oppose them. But, as they had placed an ambuscade of about three hundred men of their younger heavy-armed near the temple of the Tyndaridæ, these started up against, and the horse at the same moment of time rode down on, the enemy. The enemy stood not the charge, but turned their backs: and many of their infantry too, seeing this, took immediately to flight. However, as the pursuit was soon discontinued, and the Theban army stood firm to their ground, they all returned again to their camp. But, after this, they thought it would be too desperate an undertaking to make any fresh attempts upon the city; the whole army, therefore, filed off towards Elis and Gytheum. They set all the unwall'd cities in flames, and for three days successively made an assault on Gytheum, where were the docks of the Lacedæmonians. There were some too of the neighbouring people, who acted against them, and joined the Thebans.

The Athenians  
debate about an  
aid.

The Athenians, hearing all this, were highly embarrassed about the conduct they ought to observe in regard to the Lacedæmonians; and, pursuant to a decree of their senate, held an assembly of the people. The ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, and of the confederates who yet adhered to them, were introduced into this assembly. The Lacedæmonians—Aracus, and Ocyllus,



and Pharax, and Etymocles, and Olontheus—all spoke, and pretty much in the same strain, that, “from time immemorial, the states of Athens and Lacedæmon had readily assisted one another in their most pressing necessities. Themselves (they said) had co-operated to drive the tyrants out of Athens; and the Athenians had marched to their assistance when they were besieged by the Messenians.” They proceeded to recite all the signal services they had done one another; putting them in mind, “how they had fought in conjunction against the Barbarian;” recalling to their remembrance, that “the Athenians were chosen by the body of Greece to command at sea and to be treasurers of Greece, the Lacedæmonians advising it might be so; and themselves were unanimously appointed by all the Grecians to be their leaders at land, the Athenians advising it might be so.” One of them, however, made use of the following expression: “If you, Athenians, act unanimously with us, there will be hope again, according to the old saying, of decimating the Thebans.”

The Athenians did not entirely relish what they said, since a murmur ran round the assembly, “This is their language at present; yet, whilst they were in prosperity, they proved bitter enemies to us.” But the argument of greatest weight alleged by the Lacedæmonians was this, that “when they had warred the Athenians down, and the Thebans insisted upon their utter ruin, the Lacedæmonians had



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“ refused to comply :” though the point chiefly insisted upon was this, that “ in conformity to their  
“ oaths they ought to send them aid; they (La-  
“ cedæmonians) had been guilty of no manner of  
“ injustice when they were invaded by the Ar-  
“ cadians and their confederates; they had only  
“ assisted the Tegeatæ, upon whom the Manti-  
“ neans had made war, in direct contrariety to their  
“ oaths.” At these words a great clamour arose in the assembly : for some persons averred, that  
“ with justice the Mantineans had assisted the  
“ party of Proxenus, some of whom had been  
“ put to death by the party of Stasippus;” whilst others maintained, that “ they had unjustly made  
“ war upon the Tegeatæ.” These points having raised a debate in the assembly, at last Cliteles, the Corinthian, rose up, and spoke as followeth:

Speech of  
Cliteles.

“ The point at present in debate, Athenians, is  
“ this, Who were the first aggressors? Yet, in  
“ regard to us, after the peace was settled, who  
“ can accuse us of taking up arms against any  
“ state, or of taking any money from others, or  
“ of laying waste the lands of any people what-  
“ ever? But the Thebans, it is certain, have  
“ marched into our territories, have cut down  
“ our trees, have set our houses in flames, and  
“ made plunder of our effects and our cattle.  
“ How, therefore, unless you give assistance to  
“ us, who have been beyond all denial most inju-  
“ riously treated, how can you avoid a breach of  
“ oaths?” oaths too, “ which you yourselves took  
“ the care of administering, that all of *us* might  
“ faithfully swear to all of *you*.”



Here, indeed, the Athenians shouted aloud, that Cliteles spoke the words of truth and justice. And then Patrocles, the Phliasian, rose up, and made the following speech:

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“ When the Lacedæmonians are once out of  
“ their way, that you, Athenians, will be the first  
“ people the Thebans will attack, is a truth in  
“ which all the world will agree: since you they  
“ regard as the only people who will then be left  
“ to hinder them from obtaining the empire of  
“ Greece. And if this be so, I must give it as  
“ my opinion, that you are as strongly obliged  
“ to take up arms and assist the Lacedæmonians,  
“ as if the distress was your own. That Thebans,  
“ your inveterate enemies, and your nearest neigh-  
“ bours too, should become the sovereigns of  
“ Greece, will, in my judgment, be a point of  
“ much harder digestion to you, than when you  
“ had your rivals for empire seated more remotely  
“ from you. And with a much finer prospect of  
“ success will you now aid the latter in your own  
“ behalf, whilst yet they have some confederates  
“ left, than if looking on till they are quite de-  
“ stroyed, you are then compelled to fight it out  
“ alone against the Thebans.

Speech of  
Patrocles.

“ But if any be apprehensive, that if the Lace-  
“ dæmonians are now rescued from destruction,  
“ they may hereafter prove very troublesome to  
“ you; remember, Athenians, that none ought  
“ to be alarmed at the reviving power of men to  
“ whom you have done good, but of men to  
“ whom you have done evil. You should farther  
“ recollect, that it ought to be the principal care



## BOOK VI.

“ both of individuals and public communities,  
“ when they are in their most flourishing state,  
“ to secure themselves a future support, that, in  
“ case they are afterwards reduced, they may be  
“ sure of a ready redress in requital for former  
“ services. An opportunity is now offered to  
“ you by some one of the celestial powers, if  
“ you will hearken to their request and succour  
“ the Lacedæmonians, of gaining their eternal  
“ and sincerest friendship. You will do them a  
“ great kindness indeed, and numerous witnesses  
“ will be ever ready to attest it. For the powers  
“ above, who see all things both now and for  
“ ever, will know it; your friends and your foes  
“ will be equally conscious of it; to which must  
“ be added, all the Grecian and all the Bar-  
“ barian world. No act of yours on this occa-  
“ sion can be lost in oblivion; insomuch, that  
“ should they ever prove ungrateful to you, what  
“ state in the world will for the future manifest  
“ any regard for them? But we are bound to  
“ hope, that gratitude, and not ingratitude, will  
“ always be the practice of the Lacedæmonians.  
“ For if ever people did, they may certainly be  
“ allowed to have persisted in the love of every  
“ thing praiseworthy, and to have refrained from  
“ every thing that is base.

“ Let me suggest one point more to your re-  
“ flection, that should Greece be ever again en-  
“ dangered by Barbarians, in whom could you  
“ confide more strongly than in Lacedæmonians?  
“ Whom could you see with so much delight in  
“ the same lines of battle with yourselves, as



“ the men who, once posted at Thermopylæ, chose  
“ rather to fight and die to a man, than to save  
“ their lives, and let the Barbarian into Greece?  
“ With what justice therefore can you, or can  
“ we, refuse to show all alacrity in the behalf of  
“ men, who have acted such noble parts in com-  
“ pany with yourselves; and who, it is hoped,  
“ would be ready to act them again? But it is  
“ well worthy of you to show alacrity in their  
“ behalf, though merely because so many of your  
“ confederates are present to be eye-witnesses of  
“ it. For you may rest assured, that all such as  
“ remained faithful to the Lacedæmonians in their  
“ present distress, will hereafter scorn them, should  
“ they prove ungrateful to you.

“ If again we, who are ready to share the danger  
“ with you, should seem but petty, inconsiderable  
“ states, reflect, Athenians, that when Athens  
“ hath put itself at our head, we shall march to  
“ the aid of the Lacedæmonians in numbers well  
“ worthy to be respected.

“ I have long ago, Athenians, been stricken  
“ with admiration of this your community, when I  
“ heard, that all men who suffered under injustice,  
“ or were afraid of suffering, betook themselves  
“ to you for redress, and always obtained it. But  
“ now I rely no longer on my ears; I am here  
“ present among you, and see with my own eyes  
“ the most famous Lacedæmonians, accompanied  
“ by their own most faithful friends, attending  
“ upon you and imploring your succour. I see  
“ even Thebans too, who once in vain solicited  
“ the Lacedæmonians to enslave you all, now



## BOOK VI.

“ promoting the request, that you would not look  
“ quietly at the destruction of men who have  
“ been your preservers. It is handed down in  
“ honour of your progenitors, that they would  
“ not suffer the dead bodies of the Argives, who  
“ perished at the Cadmea, to remain uninterred.  
“ But it would be much more honourable for you,  
“ if you would not suffer such of the Lacedæmo-  
“ nians as are yet alive, to be injuriously treated  
“ or utterly destroyed. There is, too, another  
“ glorious piece of behaviour, that when you had  
“ put a stop to the insolence of Eurystheus, you  
“ took all possible care to save the children of  
“ Hercules. But would it not be much more  
“ glorious, if you, who saved the founders, would  
“ proceed to save the whole community? And it  
“ would be most glorious of all, if, as once these  
“ Lacedæmonians saved you by a vote that cost  
“ them nothing, you would now with arms, and  
“ through a series of dangers, go to their relief.  
“ The case will then be, that whilst we are ex-  
“ ulting for joy, we who have prevailed upon you  
“ by our exhortation to succour such worthy  
“ men, upon *you*, I say, who are able effectually  
“ to succour them, the credit of such high gene-  
“ rosity will be all your own, who, after having  
“ been oftentimes friends and oftentimes enemies  
“ to the Lacedæmonians, forgot all the mischief,  
“ remembered only the good they had done you,  
“ and abundantly requited them, not merely in  
“ your own, but in behalf of Greece your com-  
“ mon country, in whose cause they have ever  
“ bravely distinguished themselves.”



After this the Athenians went to consultation, but would not hear with patience such as spoke against the aid. They passed a decree "to march to their aid with the whole strength of Athens," and chose Iphicrates to command. But when the sacrifices were auspicious, and he had issued out his orders, that "they should all take their suppers in the Academy," it was said, that numbers of them marched out of the city before Iphicrates. At length he put himself at their head: they followed their commander, imagining he was conducting them to some noble achievement. But when, upon reaching Corinth, he dallied away some days in that city, this gave them the first occasion to censure him for loss of time. Yet again, when he led them out of Corinth, they followed with alacrity wheresoever he led them, and with alacrity assaulted the fortress he pointed out to them. Of the enemies, indeed, at Lacedæmon, the Arcadians, and Argives, and Eleans, were mostly departed, since they dwelt on the borders, driving before them and carrying off the booty they had taken. The Thebans and the rest had also a mind to be going, as from day to day they saw the enemy was lessening; partly, because provisions were grown more scarce, owing to the quantities that had been consumed, or ravaged, or wasted, or burnt. Beside this, it was winter, so that all persons were desirous to be at home. And when the enemy were thus retreated from Lacedæmon, Iphicrates too led the Athenians back out of Arcadia to Corinth.

In regard to any instances of fine conduct dur-  
Iphicrate  
sured.



## BOOK VI.

ing his other commands, I have nothing to object against Iphicrates. But, on the present occasion, I find the whole of his conduct not only unavailing, but even prejudicial. He endeavoured to post himself so at Oneum, that the Bœotians might not be able to go that way back; but he left the finest pass of all, that by Cenchrea, unguarded. Being farther desirous to know whether the Thebans took the route of Oneum, he sent out all the Athenian and Corinthian horse to observe their motions. A few horsemen might have performed this service full as well as larger numbers; and, in case they were obliged to retire, a few, with much more ease than a larger number, might have found out a commodious road, and securely retreated. But to carry out large numbers, and after all inferior in number to the enemy, how can such a conduct escape the imputation of folly? For this body of horse, when drawn up in lines, were compelled by their very number to cover a large tract of ground; and, when obliged to retire, made their retreat through several, and all of them difficult roads; inso-much, that not fewer than twenty of them were slain. And then the Thebans had all the roads open, to march home as they pleased<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> No sooner were they returned to Thebes, than, through the envy and malevolence of some of their own community, an attempt was made upon the lives of the commanders. A capital accusation was preferred against them, for having continued in the command four months longer than their legal appointment. Epaminondas persuaded his colleagues to exculpate themselves by throwing all the blame upon him. His own plea was, that "if



" what he had done could not justify itself, all that he could say  
 " would stand him in little stead. He should therefore trouble  
 " his judges on this occasion only with this small request, that if  
 " he must suffer death, the sentence to be inscribed on a pillar  
 " might be so drawn up, that the Grecians might know, that  
 " Epaminondas had forced the Thebans against their will to lay  
 " Laconia waste with fire and sword, which for five hundred  
 " years before had been free from any devastation; that he had  
 " restored the city of Messene two hundred and thirty years after  
 " its demolition; had united the Arcadians amongst themselves  
 " and in firm friendship with the Thebans; and had recovered  
 " the liberty and independence of Greece, since all these things  
 " were done in his last expedition." His judges immediately  
 quitted the bench with a laugh, nor would suffer any vote to be  
 taken about him. *Plutarch's Apophthegms.*



## HISTORY

OF

## THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE.

## BOOK VII.

A League between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.—Continuation of the War.—Account of Lycomedes and the War in Arcadia.—The Victory gained by Archidamus.—The Theban Negotiations in Persia.—History of the Phliasians.—Account of Euphron.—The Battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas is slain.

## BOOK VII.

A league concluded at Athens.

**N**EXT year ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians and confederates arrived at Athens, fully empowered to settle the conditions of an alliance offensive and defensive between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. After many of the foreign ministers, and many of the Athenians too, had given their opinions, that the alliance ought to be made upon fair and equal terms, Patrocles the Phliasian made the following speech :

Speech of Patrocles.

“ Since, Athenians, you are come to a resolution to make a league with the Lacedæmonians,



“ it is my opinion that one point yet remaineth  
“ to be considered, by what method the friendship  
“ between you may be rendered as lasting as  
“ possible. If, therefore, we can settle the terms  
“ in such a manner as may be highly for the ad-  
“ vantage of either party, then, in all probability,  
“ we may most firmly continue friends. Other  
“ points are already well nigh agreed on both  
“ sides; what at present remaineth to be con-  
“ sidered, is the point of command. It hath  
“ already been resolved by your senate, that it  
“ shall be yours at sea, and the Lacedæmonians  
“ shall have it by land. An adjustment this,  
“ which, in my opinion, is marked out for you  
“ by the constitution and determination both of  
“ earth and heaven. For, in the first place, your  
“ own situation is most finely adapted by nature  
“ to this very purpose. A very great number of  
“ states, who want the sea for their support, are  
“ seated round about your Athens, and all these  
“ states are weaker than your own. Besides this,  
“ you have harbours, without which it is not  
“ possible to exert a naval power. You are,  
“ moreover, possessed of a great number of  
“ triremes, and the enlargement of your navy  
“ hath been from every generation your principal  
“ study. Nay, what is more, the arts needful  
“ for these purposes are all your own, and you far  
“ excel the rest of the world in naval skill. For  
“ most persons in your community earn their  
“ livelihood at sea; so that, whilst employed in  
“ your own personal concerns, you grow expe-  
“ rienced in all the important points which are to



## BOOK VII.



“ be decided on the sea. Add to this, that such  
“ numerous fleets have never sailed out from any  
“ harbours as from your own; and hence accrues  
“ the strongest reason why you should have the  
“ command at sea. For all men flock with the  
“ most prompt alacrity to what hath been ever-  
“ more invested with strength. And the gods, it  
“ must be added, have granted you a high mea-  
“ sure of success in this respect. For, in the  
“ very many and most important struggles you  
“ have undergone at sea, you have incurred the  
“ fewest losses, you have, in general, been re-  
“ markably successful. It standeth therefore to  
“ reason, that the confederates with most prompt  
“ alacrity will take a share in all your dangers.

“ But convince yourselves, from what I am  
“ going to say, how indispensably needful to you  
“ it is to take all possible care of the sea. The  
“ Lacedæmonians made war upon you formerly  
“ for many years together, and, though they  
“ became masters of your territory, yet were  
“ nothing nearer their grand scheme of demolish-  
“ ing your power. But, no sooner had God given  
“ them a victory over you at sea, than instantly  
“ you became their vassals. Hence, therefore, it  
“ is clear beyond a scruple, that your own pre-  
“ servation is entirely connected with the sea.  
“ And, if this is the true state of things, how can  
“ it be for your interest to suffer the Lacedæ-  
“ monians to have the command at sea? In the  
“ first place, they own themselves that their skill  
“ on this element is inferior to yours. In the  
“ next place, you do not encounter dangers at sea



“ upon equal terms ; since they hazard only the  
“ men who serve on board their ships, but you,  
“ your children, and your wives, and your whole  
“ community. This is the state of the point on  
“ your side, but it is very different on that of the  
“ Lacedæmonians. For, in the first place, they  
“ dwell within the land ; insomuch, that so long  
“ as they are masters at land, though they are  
“ hindered from putting out to sea, they can live  
“ in peace and affluence. Ever mindful, therefore,  
“ of this their situation, they train up their people  
“ from their infancy in that discipline of war  
“ which is suitable to the land ; and especially,  
“ which is worth all the rest, in obedience to  
“ those who command them. They, truly, are  
“ strongest at land, and you are the strongest at  
“ sea. And in the next place, as you are soonest  
“ out at sea, so they draw out most expeditiously  
“ and in the greatest numbers at land : and likely  
“ it is for this very reason, that the confederates  
“ with the greatest confidence will ever join  
“ them there. Nay, what is more, even God  
“ hath granted them very signal successes upon  
“ the land, in the same measure as he hath granted  
“ them to you at sea. For, in the very many and  
“ most important struggles they have undergone  
“ at land, they have received the fewest defeats,  
“ and have, in general, been remarkably successful.  
“ And hence, that to take care at land is no less  
“ necessary to them than to you at sea, you may  
“ readily learn from fact itself. For, when for  
“ many years together you were at war with  
“ them, and oftentimes fought at sea successfully



## BOOK VII.



“ against them, yet you made no progress at all  
 “ in warring them down. But, no sooner were  
 “ they once defeated at land, than the loss of their  
 “ children, and their wives, and their whole com-  
 “ munity, became instantly endangered. How,  
 “ therefore, can it but be dreadful to them to  
 “ suffer any other state to take command by land  
 “ over them, who have most bravely achieved  
 “ the pre-eminence there!

“ So much, in pursuance of the resolution of  
 “ the senate, I have said on this occasion, and  
 “ think I have advised the best for both. But,  
 “ may your determinations prove the best for all  
 “ of us; and may success attend all your under-  
 “ takings!”

In this manner Patrocles spoke; and the Athenians in general, and such Lacedæmonians as were present, heartily agreed in commending his advice. But Cephisodotus stood up, and spoke as followeth:

Speech of  
Cephisodotus.

“ You perceive not, Athenians, how sadly you  
 “ are going to be over-reached; but, if you will  
 “ give me attention, I will immediately show you.  
 “ You yourselves, forsooth, are to command at  
 “ sea. But it is clear, that if the Lacedæmonians  
 “ act in confederacy with you, they will send you  
 “ Lacedæmonian captains to command the vessels,  
 “ and perhaps Lacedæmonian marines, but the  
 “ seamen, of a truth, will be only Helots or  
 “ hirelings: and then, over such as these, you will  
 “ be invested with the command. But, whenever  
 “ the Lacedæmonians issue out their mandate for  
 “ an expedition by land, you will, for certain,  
 “ send to them your own cavalry and your heavy-



“armed. And thus, beyond all dispute, they  
 “become the rulers of your very ownselves,  
 “whilst you can be such only over slaves and  
 “the very dregs of mankind. But (said he),  
 “answer me one question, you Timocrates of  
 “Lacedæmon. Did you not say just now, that  
 “you came hither to make an alliance upon fair  
 “and equal terms?” I said so. “Can any thing,  
 “therefore, be more reasonable (said Cephisodotus),  
 “than that each should command alternately at  
 “sea, alternately too at land; and, if there be any  
 “pre-eminent advantage at sea, that you should  
 “come in for your share of it; and we the same  
 “by land?”

The Athenians, upon hearing this, quite changed their sentiments, and drew up a decree, that  
 “each side should command alternately for the  
 “space of five days.”

Both parties, with their confederates, now taking the field for Corinth, it was resolved to guard Oneum in conjunction. And, when the Thebans and confederates<sup>a</sup> approached, the different parties of the enemy drew up on their several guards, the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians being posted in that quarter which was most likely to be attacked. But the Thebans and confederates, after advancing within <sup>b</sup>thirty stadia of the guard, encamped in the plain. Having then allowed a proper interval of time, which they thought they should spend in completely marching up, they advanced, at

Year before  
 Christ 368.  
 Continuation  
 of the war.

<sup>a</sup> Under the command of Epaminondas.

<sup>b</sup> About three miles.



BOOK VII. twilight, towards the guard of the Lacedæmonians.

And they were not deceived in their allowance of time, but rush in upon the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians, when the nightly watch was already dismissed, and the others were rising up from the straw, where they had taken their repose. At this very time the Thebans fall in amongst them, prepared for action against men unprepared, and in regular order against men in total disorder. But, when such as could save themselves from the danger had fled to the nearest eminence, and the commander of the Lacedæmonians had it still in his power to take to his aid as many heavy-armed and as many targeteers from the confederates as he pleased, and keep possession of Oneum (since all necessary provisions might have been safely brought them from Cenchrea), he did it not; but, on the contrary, when the Thebans were in great perplexity how to get down by the pass towards Sicyon, or about returning the same way they came, he clapped up a truce (as most people thought), more for the advantage of the Thebans than of his own party; and, in pursuance of it, retreated, and marched off his troops. In consequence of this, the Thebans having marched down in safety, and joined their own confederates, the Arcadians and Argives, and Eleans, carried on their assaults, without loss of time, against Sicyon and Pellene. They marched also against Epidaurus, and laid waste all their territory. And, retreating from thence in a manner that showed the utmost contempt of all their enemies, when they came near the city of Corinth, they ran full speed towards the



gates that look towards Phlius, with a design, if they were open, to rush in at once. But a party of light-armed sallied out of the city, and met the chosen party of the Thebans at the distance not of four plethra from the wall. These mounted immediately on the monuments and eminences that were near, and, pouring in their darts and javelins, kill a great many of this foremost body, and, having put them to flight, pursued them three or four stadia. And when this was done, the Corinthians, having dragged the bodies of the slain to the wall, and restored them afterwards by truce, erected a trophy. And, by this turn of fortune, the confederates of the Lacedæmonians were restored to better spirits.

These incidents had scarcely taken place, when the aid to the Lacedæmonians from Dionysius arrived, consisting of more than twenty triremes. They brought Celtæ and Iberians, and about fifty horsemen. But, next day, the Thebans and confederates having formed into order of battle, and filled all the plain quite down to the sea and quite up to the eminences which are near the city, destroyed every thing in the plain that could be of use to the enemy. The horse of the Athenians and Corinthians never advanced within any nearness of the enemy, perceiving how very strong and numerous they were. But the horsemen of Dionysius, however inconsiderable in their number, straggled from one another, and were scouring all over the plain; now riding up, they threw their javelins at the enemy; and, so soon as the enemy rushed forwards, they again rode off; and presently

An aid sent by  
Dionysius.



BOOK VII.  wheeling about, they kept pouring in their javelins; and, in the midst of these feats, dismounted from their horses and rested. But, in case any of the enemy rode at them whilst thus dismounted, they were again in their seats with great agility, and rode off safe. Nay, if pursued to any considerable distance from the army, no sooner were the pursuers on retreat, than, close behind them and plying at them with their javelins, they made havoc, and merely of themselves obliged the whole army of the enemy alternately to advance and retire. And, after this, the Thebans making only a few days' stay, went off for Thebes, and the rest of the confederates dispersed to their several homes.

But the aid from Dionysius march afterwards against Sicyon, and beat the Sicyonians in a battle on the plain, and slew about seventy of them. They also take by storm the fort of Dera. But, after these exploits, this first aid from Dionysius sailed away for Syracuse.

Lycomedes's  
behaviour in  
Arcadia.

Hitherto the Thebans, and all such as had revolted from the Lacedæmonians, had acted and taken the field together with perfect unanimity, the Thebans being in the command. But now one Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man in birth inferior to none, but superior in wealth and of extraordinary ambition, began to interfere. This man quite filled the Arcadians with notions of their own importance; telling them, "Pelopon-  
" nesus was a country exclusively their own" (for they alone were the original inhabitants of it),  
" the Arcadians were the most numerous people  
" in all Greece, and had their persons most re-



“ markably qualified for action.” He then showed them to be the most valiant people in Greece; producing in proof, that “ when other states had need of auxiliaries, they evermore gave preference to the Arcadians;” that, moreover, “ without them the Lacedæmonians had never dared to invade the Athenians; and now, without the Arcadians, the Thebans durst not take the field against Lacedæmon. If, therefore, you can see your own interest, you will discontinue the custom of following whenever another state may call for your attendance; since formerly, by thus following the Lacedæmonians, you augmented their power; and now, if rashly you follow the Thebans, and do not insist upon your turn in the command, you may, perhaps, find them in a little time to be second Lacedæmonians.”

The Arcadians, by listening to these discourses, were highly puffed up, quite doated on Lycomedes, and thought him the only man, insomuch that they chose such persons to be their magistrates as he was pleased to point out to them. Many things had also coincided to give the Arcadians high notions of themselves. For, when the Argives had invaded Epidaurus, and their retreat was cut off by the Athenians and Corinthians under Chabrias, they went to their aid when almost reduced to a surrender, and set the Argives at liberty, though they had not only the disadvantage of numbers, but even of situations, to struggle against. Taking the field another time against Asine in Laconia, they beat the Lacedæ-



## BOOK VII.

monian garrison, they slew Geranor the Spartan who commanded, and plundered the suburbs of Asine. Nay, whenever they had resolved to act, neither night, nor winter, nor any length of march, nor mountains difficult of passage, could stop them; insomuch that at the present juncture of time they esteemed themselves as the bravest of men. For these reasons, truly, the Thebans beheld them with envy, and could no longer manifest good-will to the Arcadians. The Eleans also, when on re-demanding from the Arcadians those cities which had been taken from them by the Lacedæmonians, they found that the Arcadians wholly slighted every thing they alleged, and even manifested high regard to the Tryphyllians and other people who had revolted from them, on the haughty pretext that they too were Arcadians,—for these reasons the Eleans also were bitterly incensed against them.

Whilst the states of the confederacy were thus severally setting up for themselves, Philiscus of Abydus arriveth from Ariobarzanes, furnished with a large sum of money. In the first place, therefore, he caused the Thebans and confederates, and the Lacedæmonians, to meet together at Delphi to treat about a peace. But, when assembled there, they never requested the advice of the god in relation to the peace, but made it a subject merely for their own consultations. And, when the Thebans positively refused to leave Messene in the power of the Lacedæmonians, Philiscus drew together a large body of mercenaries to serve as aids on the side of the Lacedæmonians. And,

Year before  
Christ 367.  
A second aid  
from Dionysius.



whilst these things were doing, the second aid arriveth from Dionysius. The Athenians allege "these ought to be sent into Thessaly to make head against the Thebans;" the Lacedæmonians are "for landing them in Laconia;" and the latter opinion carried it with the allies. When, therefore, the aid from Dionysius had sailed round to Lacedæmon, Archidamus taking them under his command, marched out with the domestic troops of that state. He took Caryæ by storm, and put all the persons he found in it to the sword. From thence, without loss of time, he led them on against Parrhasia of Arcadia, and laid waste the country. But, so soon as the Arcadians and Argives were come out into the field, he retreated and encamped on the high ground of Midea. Whilst he was in this post, Cissidas, who commanded the aid from Dionysius, notified to him, that "the time limited for his stay in Greece is expired;" and he had no sooner notified this, than he marched off for Sparta. But, when the Messenians had stopped him on his route by besetting the narrow passes, he sent back to Archidamus, and begged his assistance; and Archidamus immediately began his march. When they were gotten as far as the turning in the road that leadeth to Euctresii, the Arcadians and Argives were advancing into Laconia to stop his proceeding farther on the road to Sparta. Archidamus now turneth aside into the plain near the spot where the roads to Euctresii and Midea meet, and formeth into order of battle, as resolved on an engagement. It is said that he went up to the



## BOOK VII.



Speech of  
Archidamus.

front of the army, and animated the men by the following exhortation :

“ Countrymen and soldiers! let us now be  
“ brave, and look our enemies directly in the face.  
“ Let us bequeath our country to our posterity,  
“ as we received it from our fathers. From this  
“ moment let us cease to make our children, and  
“ our wives, and our elders, and our foreign  
“ friends, ashamed of the behaviour of men, who,  
“ in former days, were the admiration of Greece.”

He gains a  
victory distin-  
guished by the  
title of Tearless.

These words were no sooner uttered, than (according to report), though the sky was clear, it lightened and thundered, those omens of success. There happened also to be on his right wing a grove and an image consecrated to Hercules, from whom Archidamus is said to be descended. The concurrence of such auspicious signs inspired, as they say, such vigour and spirit into his soldiers, that it was difficult for the commanders to restrain them from rushing forwards towards the enemy. And, indeed, no sooner did Archidamus lead them to the charge, than those few of the enemy who had the courage to stand it were immediately slain; the rest were all in flight, and were slaughtered, many by the horse, and many by the Celtæ. When the battle was over and the trophy erected, Archidamus immediately despatched Demoteles the herald to Sparta, to notify there the greatness of the victory, since not one Lacedæmonian was slain, but a very great number indeed of the enemy. It is reported, that the news was no sooner heard at Sparta, than Agesilaus, and the elders, and the Ephori, began setting the example,



and at length the whole community wept<sup>c</sup>: thus common are tears both to sorrow and joy. Not but that the Thebans and the Eleans were as much rejoiced as the Lacedæmonians themselves at this blow given to the Arcadians; so highly did they resent their late assuming behaviour.

As the point at which the Thebans were aiming, was how to attain the sovereignty of Greece, they now thought, that should they send to the king of Persia, by his assistance they might accomplish their scheme. With this view they summoned their confederates to a meeting; and, on the pretext that Euthycles the Lacedæmonian was then with the king, Pelopidas is sent up by the Thebans;

Pelopidas sent  
to the king of  
Persia.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch, in the Life of Agesilaus, gives a fuller account of the rejoicing at Sparta on this occasion, which he introduces with so pertinent but shrewd an observation, that the whole passage well deserves a notice:—" Nothing (says he) so much betrayed the weakness of the Spartan state, as this victory. Ever before this time they had looked upon themselves as so entitled by prescription and by right to conquer in battle, that for the greatest victories they sacrificed nothing but a cock, the combatants never uttered any words of exultation, and the news of them inspired no hearer with any extraordinary joy. Even after the battle of Mantinea, which Thucydides hath described, the magistrates sent a piece of flesh from their own table as a reward to the person who brought them the news, and made him no other present. But after this victory was published, and Archidamus in his return drew near to Sparta, not a soul but was quite transported; his father Agesilaus cried for joy, and went out to meet him, attended with the whole magistracy. The elders of the city and the women flocked down to the river Eurotas, lifting up their hands to heaven, and giving thanks to the gods, as if Sparta now had cleared her reputation from all the late disgraces, and as bright a prospect as ever was opened before her."



BOOK VII. Antiochus the Pancratiast by the Arcadians ; Archidamus by the Eleans ; and an Argive ambassador went also in their company. The Athenians, hearing this, sent Timagoras and Leo to solicit against them. When they were all arrived, Pelopidas had soon gained the greatest interest in the Persian monarch. He could justly plead, that “ of all  
 “ the Grecians the Thebans alone had joined the  
 “ royal army at Plataea, and ever since that time  
 “ had never joined in any war against the king ;”  
 and that “ the Lacedæmonians had made war upon  
 “ them for this reason only, because they had  
 “ refused to act against him under the command  
 “ of Agesilaus, nor would permit the latter to  
 “ sacrifice at Aulis, where Agamemnon had formerly sacrificed, and thence beginning his expedition into Asia had taken Troy.” Other circumstances also concurred to procure Pelopidas more honourable treatment ; such as, that the Thebans had been victorious in the battle of Leuctra ; and farther, quite masters of the country, had laid waste the dominions of the Lacedæmonians. Pelopidas, moreover, insinuated, that “ the Argives  
 “ and Arcadians had been defeated in battle by  
 “ the Lacedæmonians, merely because the Thebans  
 “ were not there.” Timagoras the Athenian bore witness to him, and vouched the truth of whatever Pelopidas said ; he, therefore, was honoured by the king in the next degree to Pelopidas. At length, Pelopidas was asked by the king, “ What  
 “ he would have him insist upon in his letter ?” He answered, that “ Messene should be left free  
 “ and independent by the Lacedæmonians, and

Timagoras  
acts with him.



“ the Athenians should lay up their fleet. And, in  
 “ case they refused to comply, war should be  
 “ declared against them. And, if any state re-  
 “ fused to join in the war, that state should be  
 “ first invaded.” These points being committed  
 to writing, and then read aloud to the ambassadors,  
 Leo cried out in the hearing of the king, “ In  
 “ good truth, Athenians, it is high time for you  
 “ to look out another friend instead of the king.”  
 And, when the secretary had interpreted what the  
 Athenian said, the king ordered this qualifying  
 article to be added:—“ But, in case the Athenians  
 “ are able to devise more effectual expedients, let  
 “ them repair hither and communicate them to  
 “ the king.” No sooner were these ambassadors  
 returned to their several homes, than the Athenians  
 put Timagoras to death; since Leo preferred an  
 accusation against him, “ for refusing to lodge in  
 “ the same apartment with him, and for bearing  
 “ a share in all the schemes of Pelopidas.” As  
 to the rest of the ambassadors, Archidamus the  
 Elean highly applauded the king’s declaration,  
 because he had given a preference to the Eleans  
 over the Arcadians. But Antiochus, because the  
 Arcadic body was slighted by him, refused his  
 presents, and told the magistrates of Arcadia at  
 his return, that “ the king, it is true, was master  
 “ over an infinite number of bakers and cooks,  
 “ and butlers and door-keepers; but though he  
 “ had looked about with his utmost diligence to  
 “ discover the men who were able to fight with  
 “ Grecians, he had not been able to get the sight  
 “ of any.” He added, that “ in his opinion his

And put to  
 death at Athens  
 for it.



## BOOK VII.

“ vast quantity of wealth was mere empty  
“ pageantry; since the very plane-tree of gold, so  
“ much celebrated by fame, was not large enough  
“ to afford shade to a grasshopper.” But, when  
the Thebans had summoned deputations from all  
the states to come and hear the king’s epistle;  
and the Persian, who brought it, after showing  
the royal signet, had read aloud the contents; the  
Thebans commanded all, “ who were desirous of  
“ the king’s friendship and of theirs, to swear  
“ observance;” but the deputies from the states  
replied, that “ their commission was not to swear  
“ but to hear. And, if oaths were necessary, they  
“ bade the Thebans send round to the several  
“ states.” Lycomedes the Arcadian added farther,  
that “ this congress ought not to have been holden  
“ in Thebes, but in the seat of the war.” The  
Thebans, however, resenting this, and telling him  
“ he was destroying the confederacy,” Lycomedes  
would no longer assist at any consultation, but  
instantly quitted Thebes, and went home, accom-  
panied by all the deputies from Arcadia. Yet, as  
those remaining at Thebes refused to take the  
oaths, the Thebans sent ambassadors round to the  
several states, commanding them “ to swear to  
“ the observance of what had been written by  
“ the king;” concluding that each state, thus  
singly to be sworn, would be afraid of incurring  
the resentments of themselves and the king by a  
refusal. However, the first place to which they  
repaired was Corinth. And the Corinthians  
standing out, and remonstrating that “ they wanted  
“ no swearing to treaties with the king,” many



other states followed their example, and answered to the same effect. And thus the grand scheme of empire, so long agitated by Pelopidas and the Thebans, was totally disconcerted. BOOK VII.

But now Epaminondas, being desirous to begin again with the reduction of the Achæans, in order to render the Arcadians and the rest of the confederates more attentive to the friendship of the Thebans, determined to make war upon Achaia. He, therefore, persuadeth Peisias the Argive, who commanded in Argos, immediately to seize Oneum. Peisias accordingly, having made a discovery that the guard of Oneum was neglected by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedæmonians, and by Timomachus the Athenian, seizeth by night, with two thousand heavy-armed, the eminence above Cenchrea, having with him provisions for seven days. During this interval the Thebans begin their march, and complete the passage of Oneum; and then the confederates in one body invade Achaia under the command of Epaminondas. And as such of the Achæans, as were of the party of the few, went over to him, Epaminondas exerteth his influence with so much weight, that afterwards none of that party were sentenced to exile, nor any change made in the polity of the state, but only security was given by the Achæans, that they would be firm allies, and follow the Thebans wheresoever they led them; and so the latter returned again to Thebes.

Year before  
Christ 366.  
Epaminondas  
takes the field.

The Arcadians and all discontented parties now accusing Epaminondas for marching off so soon as he had put Achaia in a proper disposition to serve

Some are dis-  
gusted at his  
conduct.



BOOK VII. the Lacedæmonians, it was judged expedient by the Thebans to send away governors into the cities of Achaia. These, on their arrival, by the help of the popular party, drove out into exile the party of the few, and set up a democracy in Achaia. The persons thus exiled, concurring together in the same measures, and being not few in number, returned to their several cities, and recovered the possession of them. And now, as they no longer observed any manage in their conduct, but with high alacrity supported the Lacedæmonian cause, the Arcadians were grievously harrassed on one side by the Lacedæmonians, and on the other by the Achæans.

Euphron's  
behaviour at  
Sicyon.

At Sicyon, down to this time, the administration had been carried on according to the laws of the Achæans. But Euphron, ambitious to play a leading part amongst the enemies of the Lacedæmonians, though hitherto he had been regarded by the latter as their most steady friend, insinuateth to the Argives and Arcadians, that “ were the  
“ most wealthy members of the community to be  
“ indisputably masters of Sicyon, then, beyond all  
“ doubt, on every occasion that city would act  
“ entirely in the Lacedæmonian interest; whereas,  
“ if a democracy be set up in it, you may depend  
“ upon it (said he), that city will firmly adhere to  
“ you. If, therefore, you will give me your aid,  
“ I will engage to convene the people; and at the  
“ same time I will give them this certain pledge  
“ of my own sincerity, and will keep the city  
“ firm in your alliance. My motives for acting,  
“ be you well assured, are the same with your



“ own, since I have long suffered with regret the  
“ insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and would,  
“ with the highest pleasure, escape from their  
“ bondage.” The Arcadians and Argives, there-  
fore, who listened greedily to him, repaired to  
Sicyon to support him. On their arrival he im-  
mediately convened the people in the forum, and  
proposed a form of administration wherein each  
might have a fair and equal share. And, in this  
very assembly, he ordered them to choose what  
persons they pleased to be their commanders.  
The people accordingly choose Euphron himself,  
and Hippodamus, and Cleander, and Acrisius, and  
Lysander. When these points were settled, he  
appointeth his own son Adeas to command the  
mercenary troops, having discharged Lysimenus,  
who commanded them before. Euphron, by his  
generosity, had soon attached many of the mer-  
cenaries firmly to his interest; he quickly made  
many more of them his friends, sparing neither  
the public money nor the treasure in the temples  
in buying their service. And he employed to the  
same use the wealth of such persons as he drove  
into exile for being friends to the Lacedæmonians.  
Some also of his colleagues in command he slew  
by treachery, and some he banished; insomuch,  
that he grew to be absolute master of Sicyon, and,  
past all doubt, became a tyrant. And he caused  
the confederates to connive at all his proceedings,  
sometimes by supplying them with money, and  
at other times by taking the field with his mer-  
cenaries whenever they summoned him to join  
them.

BOOK VII.

The first of the  
plots of the  
Persians.



## BOOK VII.

The fine exploits of the Phliasians.

Affairs having so far succeeded, and the Argives having fortified Tricranum, situated above the temple of Juno in Phlius, and the Sicyonians at the same time fortifying Thyamia on the frontier of the Phliasians, the latter were grievously distressed, and reduced to the want of necessaries; yet, notwithstanding this, they persevered in a most steadfast adherence to their allies. When any grand point is accomplished by powerful states, all historians are careful to propagate the remembrance of it. But, in my opinion, if any petty state can accomplish a series of numerous and great achievements, such a state hath a much better title to have them honourably remembered.

The Phliasians, for instance, became friends to the Lacedæmonians when the latter were possessed of the most ample power. And yet, after their overthrow at the battle of Leuctra, after the revolt of many neighbouring cities, and after the revolt of many of their Helots, and of their old allies, very few excepted, all Greece, in a word, being combined against them, the Phliasians persevered in the most faithful attachment to them; nay, when even the Argives and Arcadians, the most powerful states in Peloponnesus, were become their enemies; notwithstanding all this, the Phliasians gave them aid, even though it fell to their lot to be the very last body of men of the whole confederacy that could march up to Prasiæ to join them. The Corinthians, Epidaurians, Træzenians, Hermionians, Haliensians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians, for these had not revolted, were



at Prasiæ before them. Nay, when even the Spartan general, who was sent to command, would not wait for their arrival, but marched off with those who were already come up, the Phliasi-  
ans, notwithstanding, scorned to turn back, but hiring a guide at Prasiæ, though the enemy was now at Amyclæ, came forwards as well as they could, and arrived at Sparta. The Lacedæmonians, it is true, gave them all possible marks of their gratitude, and, by way of hospitality, presented them with an ox.

When again, after the enemy's retreat from Lacedæmon, the Argives, exasperated against the Phliasi-  
ans for their zealous attachment to the Lacedæmonians, invaded Phlius with their whole united force, and laid all that country waste, they would in no wise submit. And, after the enemy had completed their ravage, and were again on their retreat, the horsemen of Phlius sallied out in good order, and pressed close on their rear; and, though the whole Argive cavalry and some companies of heavy-armed composed this rear, though but sixty in number, they fell upon them, and put the whole rear to flight. They slew some few of them, and even erected a trophy in the very sight of the enemy; nor could they have done more, though they had killed them to a man.

Again. When the Lacedæmonians and confederates were posted on the guard of Oneum, and the Thebans were approaching with a design to force the passage, the Eleans and Argives marching in the mean-time by the road of Nemea in order to join the Thebans, some exiles from Phlius in-



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sinuated to the latter, that “if they would only  
“show themselves before Phlius, they might  
“take it.” When they had resolved on a trial,  
these exiles, with some auxiliaries, amounting in  
all to about six hundred, posted themselves by  
night under the wall of Phlius, having with them  
a number of ladders. When, therefore, the  
sentinels had given the signals that the enemy  
were marching down from Tricranum, and all the  
inhabitants of the city were thrown into alarm,  
that very instant the traitors gave the signal to  
those sculking under the wall to mount. Ac-  
cordingly they mounted; and, first seizing at the  
stand the arms of the guard, they pursued the  
sentinels who were left to watch them, being ten  
in number: from every five one person was left to  
watch the arms. But one of these they murdered  
before he could wake out of sleep, and another as  
he was flying for shelter to the temple of Juno.  
As the sentinels had leaped from the walls down  
into the city to flee from the enemy, the latter  
were now masters of the citadel, and the former  
saw it plainly with their own eyes. But, when  
they shouted for aid, and all the inhabitants came  
running to assist them, the enemy sallied imme-  
diately from the citadel, and engaged them before  
the gate that openeth into the city. Yet, being  
afterwards surrounded by numbers of such as had  
flocked together to assist, they again retired into  
the citadel, and the heavy-armed rush in at the  
same time with them. The area of the citadel  
was immediately cleared of the enemy, who,  
mounting the wall and the turrets, threw down



darts and javelins upon the Phliasi-  
ans below. They defended themselves, and fought their way  
to the stairs that lead up to the wall. And, when  
the inhabitants had possessed themselves of the  
turrets on either side of the enemy, they then  
advanced with the utmost fury close up to them,  
who, unable to withstand such a bold and desperate  
attack, were all driven together on an heap. At  
this very instant of time the Arcadians and Argives  
invested the city, and were directly opening a  
breach in the wall of the citadel. The Phliasi-  
ans within it were levelling their blows fast; some of  
them at the enemy on the wall; some at the  
enemy on the ladders endeavouring to mount;  
some also were fighting against those who had  
scaled and were gotten upon the turrets; and,  
finding fire in the barracks, they set the turrets in  
a flame by the help of faggots, which had just  
happened to be cut down in the citadel itself.  
And now, such as were upon the turrets jumped  
off immediately for fear of the flames; and such  
as were upon the walls were forced, by the blows  
of their antagonists, to leap over. And, when  
once they began to give way, the whole citadel  
was soon cleared of the enemy, and the horsemen  
of Phlius rode out of the city. The enemy re-  
treated at the sight of them, leaving behind their  
ladders and their dead, nay, the living too, who  
had been lamed in the scuffle. The number of  
the slain, both of such as had fought within and  
such as had leaped down from the wall, was not  
less than eighty. And now you might have seen  
the men of Phlius shaking one another by the



BOOK VII. hand in mutual congratulation, the women bringing them refreshments of liquor, and at the same time weeping for joy. Nay, there was not a soul present on this occasion, whose countenance did not show the tearful smile.

Next year the Argives and Arcadians, with their whole united force, again invaded Phliasia. The reasons of this continued enmity against the Phliasians were, because they were very angry at them, and because they were situated between them; and they never ceased hoping, that, by reducing them to famine, they might starve them into obedience. But, in this invasion also, the horsemen and chosen band of Phliasians, with the aid of Athenian horse, were at hand to attack the enemy as they are passing the river. Having the better in the action, they forced the enemy to retire for the rest of the day under the craggy parts of a mountain, since they avoided the plain, lest, by trampling over it, they might damage the corn of their friends.

Again. Upon another occasion the commandant at Sicyon marched an army against Phlius. He had with him the Thebans and his own garrison, the Sicyonians and the Pellenians (for these now had accustomed themselves to follow the orders of the Thebans). Euphron also accompanied this expedition, having with him about two thousand mercenaries. The rest of the army marched down by way of Tricranum to the temple of Juno, with a design to lay waste the plain. But the commandant left the Sicyonians and Pellenians behind, near the gates that open towards Corinth, that



the Phliasians might not be able to fetch a compass round the eminence and get above them whilst they were at the temple of Juno. When the Phliasians in the city were assured that the enemy were rushing down into the plain, their horsemen and their chosen band marched out in order of battle against them, and charged them, and effectually prevented their descent into the plain. Here they spent the greatest part of the day in throwing their darts and javelins at one another; the mercenaries of Euphron pursuing so far as the ground was not good for horse, and the Phliasians of the city driving them back to the temple of Juno. But, when they judged it the proper time, the enemy retreated by the pass round about Tricranum, since the ditch before the wall hindered their marching the shortest road to the Pellenians. The Phliasians, after following close behind them till they came to the ascents, turned off and made full speed close under the wall towards the Pellenians and the troops with them. The enemy under the command of the Theban general, perceiving what a hurry the Phliasians were in, made all possible haste to reach the Pellenians with timely aid. But the horsemen of Phlius were too speedy for them, and had already attacked the Pellenians. The latter standing firm, the Phliasians again retreated backwards till they had strengthened themselves by such of their foot as were now come up, and then renewed the attack, and closely engaged them. Now the enemy give way, and some of the Sicyonians are slain, as also were very many, and those the flower



## BOOK VII.

too, of the Pellenians. These things being done, the Phliasians erected a splendid trophy, and sung the pæan of victory, as they justly might; whilst their enemies, under the Theban general and Euphron, looked calmly at them, as if they came hither only to see a sight. And when the rejoicings were over, the latter marched off to Sicyon, and the Phliasians returned into their own city.

There is also another gallant action which the Phliasians performed. For having taken a Pellenian prisoner, who had formerly been their public host, they gave him his liberty without asking any ransom, though they were then in want of the necessaries of life.

To these, who did such things, what person can deny the praise of being generous and gallant men? It is plain to all the world, how steadily they persevered to the last in fidelity to their friends, though deprived of all the produce of their own lands, though subsisting merely on what they could plunder from the lands of their enemies or purchase from Corinth, when even to that market they could not go but through a series of dangers, with difficulty procuring money for the purpose, with difficulty finding any to advance it for them, and hardly able to find security for the loan of beasts to carry their provisions home. At length, reduced to total distress, they prevailed upon Chares to undertake the guard of a convoy for them. And when this guard was arrived at Phlius, they persuaded Chares to take all their useless mouths along with



him as far as Pellene, and there he left them. In the next place, having purchased their provisions, and laden as many beasts as they could possibly procure, they began their march by night, not ignorant that the enemy had laid an ambush on their road, but determined within themselves that it was more eligible to fight than to want necessary food. Accordingly they set out on their return in company with Chares, and were no sooner gotten in with the enemy than they fell to work with them, and loudly exhorting one another, fought with the utmost vigour, shouting aloud on Chares to give them aid. Victorious at length, and having cleared the road of their enemies, they returned safe with their whole convoy to Phlius. But as they had passed the night without a wink of sleep, they slept in the morning till the day was far advanced. And yet Chares was no sooner up, than the horsemen and most active citizens of Phlius went to him, and accosted him thus:

“ It is in your power, Chares, to perform this  
 “ very day a most noble exploit. The Sicyonians  
 “ are this moment busy in fortifying a post on  
 “ our frontier. They have assembled a large  
 “ number of mechanics for the purpose, and yet  
 “ but a small number of heavy-armed. We our-  
 “ selves, with our horsemen, and the most gallant  
 “ men of our city, will march out first; and if  
 “ you at the head of your mercenaries will follow  
 “ after us, perhaps you may find the business  
 “ completed on your arrival; or perhaps, by  
 “ barely showing yourself, you will put them all

Speech of the  
 Phliasians to  
 Chares.



BOOK VII. “ to flight, as you did at Pellene. Yet in case  
“ you judge the proposal we make to be attended  
“ with difficulties, go and consult the gods by  
“ sacrifice. For we are fully persuaded, that the  
“ gods will, more forcibly than we can, exhort  
“ you to compliance. But, Chares, of this you  
“ ought to be assured, that if you succeed in this  
“ undertaking, you will have gained an high  
“ ascendant over the foe, you will have indisput-  
“ ably preserved a friendly city, you will become  
“ an Athenian of the highest esteem among your  
“ own countrymen, and a man of the highest  
“ reputation both with friends and foes.”

Chares so far hearkened to what they said as to set about the sacrifice. But the Phliasian horsemen immediately put on their breast-plates and bridled their horses; the heavy-armed too prepared to begin the march. And when, taking up their arms, they were repairing to the place of sacrifice, Chares and the soothsayer advanced to meet them, and declared that “ the victims portended suc-  
“ cess. Halt a little (they added), and we march  
“ out in company with you.” Their herald called to arms without loss of time; and the mercenaries ran into their ranks with an alacrity that seemed inspired by heaven. Chares no sooner began his march, than the Phliasian horsemen and heavy-armed advanced and led the van. They moved off briskly at first, and then set up a trot; the horsemen were at length on the gallop; the heavy-armed ran after as fast as they could without breaking their ranks; and Chares followed the heavy-armed with all his speed. It was now



near sunset. When arrived, therefore, at the fortification, they found the enemy, some of them employed in bathing, some dressing their meat, some kneading their bread, and some preparing their beds; who no sooner saw the impetuosity with which their enemy came on, than they took fright and fled, leaving all their victuals behind for the use of these gallant men. The latter accordingly made a hearty supper upon what was thus ready dressed, and what they had brought along with them from Phlius; and then, pouring forth a libation in acknowledgment of success, and singing their pæan of victory, and placing proper sentinels for the nightly guard, had a sound repose. A messenger arrived in the night, and told the Corinthians what had been done at Thyamia, who, in a very hearty manner, ordered the herald to call for all the carriages and beasts of draught in the city, which they loaded with provisions, and drove away to Phlius. And, afterwards, till the fortification was completely finished, they continued daily to send them in a convoy of provisions.—All these incidents have been related, to show how faithful to their confederates the Phliasians were, with how much bravery they persisted in the war, and, though reduced to extreme distress, would still persevere in their alliance.

About almost the same space of time Æneas the Stymphalian, who had been made general-in-chief of the Arcadians, judging what was doing at Sicyon to be past all sufferance, marched up with his forces into the citadel, whither he con-

Euphron driven  
out of Sicyon.



## BOOK VII.

veneth the best men of Sicyon resident in the city, and recalled such as had been driven into exile without a legal process. Euphron, alarmed at this, flies for refuge down to the harbour of Sicyon; and having sent for Pasimelus from Corinth, delivered up the harbour to him for the use of the Lacedæmonians; and thus he went over again into their alliance, averring, that “ whatever appearances were against him, he “ had been most faithfully attached to the Lacedæmonians. For when it was publicly voted “ at Sicyon, whether or no they should revolt, “ (he said) he had given his own vote with the “ minority. And afterwards had set up the democracy, only to execute his revenge upon “ such as had betrayed him. And even now all “ those, who had betrayed the Lacedæmonians, “ are driven into exile by me. If, therefore, I “ had been able to execute the whole of my “ design, I should have revolted to you with the “ whole city in my own disposal: but, as I was “ not able to accomplish this, I have now delivered up the harbour to you.” These words were spoken by him in the hearing of many; but it did not appear that many believed him sincere. Yet, since I have thus returned to the intrigues of Euphron, I will proceed, and finish all that relateth to him.

Euphron flies to Thebes.

A sedition happening afterwards between the parties of the nobility and the people at Sicyon, Euphron, at the head of some mercenaries picked up at Athens, returneth again into that city. Here, aided by the people, he became master of



the whole place except the citadel, which remained in possession of the Theban commandant. But being clearly convinced that he could not stay long in the place, as the Thebans were masters of the citadel, he collected together every thing of value he possibly could, and went away for Thebes, intending to bribe the Thebans to eject the party of the few, and leave him master once more of the city of Sicyon. But the former exiles got notice of his journey and his whole scheme, and posted away after him to Thebes. And when they saw him conversing familiarly with the men in power at Thebes, and became apprehensive that he would succeed in the whole of his designs, some of them determine to run all risks, and stab him in the very citadel whilst the magistrates were sitting in council. The magistrates immediately ordered the assassins to be brought before the council, and then spoke as followeth:

and is murdered there.

“ Citizens of Thebes! we accuse these persons  
 “ here, who have assassinated Euphron, as guilty  
 “ of a capital offence. We are convinced by  
 “ experience, that men of honour and worth  
 “ never commit such outrageous and impious  
 “ acts; wicked men, indeed, commit them, and  
 “ endeavour at the same time to remain un-  
 “ discovered. But these wretches have far ex-  
 “ ceeded all mankind in a daring and abominable  
 “ crime; for, erecting themselves into judges  
 “ and executioners too, they have murdered  
 “ Euphron, almost in the presence of the magis-  
 “ trates of Thebes, and in the presence also of

The magistrates of Thebes.



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“ you, who are solely invested with the power of  
 “ life and death. If these wretches, therefore,  
 “ be suffered to escape the punishment of death,  
 “ what stranger for the time forwards will dare  
 “ to appear in this city? or, what will become of  
 “ Thebes, if private persons may be permitted to  
 “ murder a stranger, before he hath notified the  
 “ reasons of his coming? We, therefore, accuse  
 “ these men as impious and execrable wretches,  
 “ and guilty of the highest contempt against the  
 “ state. And, after hearing what they have to  
 “ say, judge ye what punishment they best de-  
 “ serve, and sentence them accordingly.”

In this manner the magistrates accused them; and each of the assassins pleaded in his own behalf, that he was not the person who gave the blow; till at length one of them boldly avowed it, and began his defence as followeth:

Speech of him  
 who killed Eu-  
 phron.

“ No man, ye Thebans, can possibly entertain  
 “ a contempt of you, who knoweth that you are  
 “ sovereign arbiters of life and death within your  
 “ own community. And you shall be clearly  
 “ informed on what I placed my confidence,  
 “ when within your walls I gave Euphron the  
 “ mortal blow.

“ It was, in the first place, on my own con-  
 “ viction, that what I did was right; and,  
 “ secondly, on my inward persuasion, that you  
 “ would judge righteously of the fact. I knew,  
 “ that in the case of Archias and Hypates, whom  
 “ you found guilty of practices like those of  
 “ Euphron, you waited not for the legal decision,  
 “ but wreaked your vengeance upon them the



“ first opportunity that presented itself, convinced  
“ that the sentence of death is already passed by  
“ all mankind upon wretches openly abandoned,  
“ upon detected traitors, and ambitious tyrants.  
“ And Euphron, in each of these characters, de-  
“ served his fate. He had seized the temples of  
“ the gods, and stripped them of all their gold  
“ and silver oblations. And certainly no man  
“ was ever a more notorious traitor than Euphron,  
“ who being in the closest friendship with the  
“ Lacedæmonians, deserted them for you; and,  
“ after the most solemn pledges of fidelity to  
“ you, again betrayed you, and delivered up the  
“ harbour of Sicyon to your enemies. And,  
“ farther, how incontestably doth it appear to  
“ all the world that Euphron was a tyrant? who  
“ not only made freemen of slaves, but even  
“ raised them to all the privileges of citizens.  
“ He put to death, he drove into banishment, he  
“ deprived of their properties, not men who had  
“ acted unjustly, but whom he did not like; and  
“ these were the worthiest men in Sicyon. And,  
“ what is more, returning to that city by the aid  
“ of Athenians, your greatest enemies, he drew  
“ up his troops in opposition to your own com-  
“ mandant. But when he found himself unable  
“ to dislodge him from his post, he collected  
“ every thing of value he could, and even ven-  
“ tured hither. Now, had he been marching  
“ against you in an hostile manner, you would  
“ have bestowed your thanks upon me for taking  
“ his life. When, therefore, he had amassed all  
“ the wealth he could, and came hither to corrupt



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“ your members, and so persuade you to make  
“ him once more master of Sicyon; and at this  
“ very crisis I inflicted condign punishment upon  
“ him; with what justice can I be put to death  
“ by you? Men overpowered by arms are suf-  
“ ferers, it is true; yet are not thereby proved  
“ unjust: but men, who are corrupted to do  
“ iniquitous acts, are not only hurt, but are dis-  
“ graced for ever. Yet, supposing Euphron to  
“ have been only an enemy to me, but a friend  
“ to you, I then shall frankly confess, that I am  
“ not to be justified for having killed him. But  
“ who hath been a traitor to you, can that man  
“ be a greater enemy to me than he was to you?  
“ Good gods! it may be said, Euphron came  
“ hither on his own free accord.—Granted. The  
“ person then, who had killed him out of your  
“ jurisdiction, would have received your com-  
“ mendations for it. And shall any one deny  
“ that he was justly slain, because he was gotten  
“ within your walls to accumulate the mischiefs  
“ he hath done you? What proofs can such an  
“ one bring, that Grecians are bound to observe  
“ any terms with traitors, with habitual deserters,  
“ or with tyrants? And, after all this, remember,  
“ Thebans, that you yourselves have passed a  
“ decree which is yet in force, that exiles upon  
“ record may be fetched away from any of the  
“ confederate cities. Who, therefore, can deny  
“ the justice of putting that man to death, who,  
“ though exiled, presumed to return home with-  
“ out a previous decree from the confederate  
“ cities? I affirm therefore, ye Thebans, that if



“ you take my life, you are only going to revenge  
 “ the man who was the bitterest enemy in the  
 “ world to yourselves. But, should you declare  
 “ that I have acted with justice, you will take  
 “ revenge in behalf of yourselves and all your  
 “ confederates.”

The Thebans, after hearing this defence, declared that Euphron was justly killed. The Sicyonians, however, of his own faction, carried him home as a man of bravery and worth, buried him in the forum, and honour him as guardian of their city. This, it seemeth, is the practice of the world, that men generally pronounce their own private benefactors to be persons of honour and worth. The account of Euphron is thus completed; I return to the place from whence I digressed to give it.

Whilst the Phliasians were yet employed in fortifying Thyamia, and Chares continued with them, Oropus was seized by the exiles. The whole military force of Athens took the field on this occasion; and Chares being also sent for from Thyamia, the harbour of the Sicyonians is again taken by the inhabitants and the Arcadians. None of their confederates marched out to join the Athenians, who retreated, leaving Oropus in the hands of the Thebans, till the dispute should be judicially determined. But Lycomedes, perceiving the Athenians were displeased with their confederates, since, though involved in many troubles in their behalf, yet, in time of need, not one would stir to their assistance, persuadeth the ten thousand to treat with them for an offensive

Alliance between Athenians and Arcadians.



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and defensive alliance. Some of the Athenians were not at all satisfied with the proposal, that they, who were in friendship with the Lacedæmonians, should enter into such an alliance with the enemies of the latter. But when, after serious consideration, they found it might be as serviceable to the Lacedæmonians as to themselves, that the Arcadians should stand in no need of the Thebans, they at length accepted the alliance of the Arcadians. Lycomedes, who managed the negotiation, in his return from Athens lost his life in a most wonderful manner. For, very many ships being on their departure, he pitched on a particular one from amongst the number, and having agreed with them to land him at whatever place he named, he chose to land in the very place where the exiles were at that moment assembled; and thus he loseth his life.

Corinth at  
peace.

The alliance between Arcadians and Athenians was thus effectually settled. But Demotion saying, in the assembly of the people at Athens, that “this alliance was, in his judgment, an honourable measure,” he then added, that “it ought to be particularly recommended to the generals of the state, to take care that Corinth be kept firm in its duty to the people of Athens.” This was reported to the Corinthians, who sending, without loss of time, detachments of their own people to all places garrisoned by the Athenians, ordered the latter to march out, as they had no longer any need of their service. Accordingly they evacuated the garrisons; and when they were all afterwards arrived at Corinth, the Corin-



thians made public proclamation, that “ if any  
“ Athenian thought himself aggrieved, he should  
“ prefer his petition, and have all equitable re-  
“ dress.” But at this juncture Chares arrived at  
Cenchreæ with the fleet. And when he knew  
what had lately been done, he gave out, that  
“ having heard of a design against the city, he  
“ was come up with a timely aid.” The Corin-  
thians commended his alacrity in their service,  
but, however, would not permit him to enter the  
harbour, and ordered him to depart with the fleet;  
and then, after doing them all kind of justice,  
they sent away the heavy-armed. In this manner  
were the Athenians dismissed from Corinth. But,  
in pursuance of the late alliance, they were obliged  
to send their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians,  
whenever any enemy invaded Arcadia; and yet  
they never entered Laconia in an hostile manner.  
In the mean-time the Corinthians were reflecting  
much with themselves, how difficult it would be  
to secure their own preservation, as they had  
already been quite overpowered at land, and the  
Athenians were now become intractable in regard  
to them. They determined, therefore, to take into  
their pay bodies both of foot and horse. And  
keeping these submissive to their own orders,  
they at one and the same time kept guard at  
Corinth, and gave some annoyance to their ene-  
mies. They sent however to Thebes, to demand  
of the Thebans, “ Whether, in case they requested  
“ it in form, a peace would be granted them?”  
And when the Thebans encouraged them to  
come with their request, giving hopes of its suc-



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cess, the Corinthians offered a fresh petition, that “they would first permit them to go and “consult their confederates, that they might “associate such of them as were willing in this “peace, and leave such as preferred war to the “liberty of continuing it.” The Thebans permitting them too to take this step, the Corinthians repaired to Lacedæmon, and spoke as followeth:

Speech of the  
Corinthians.

“We Corinthians, your old and approved confederates, address ourselves to you, ye men of Lacedæmon. We solemnly conjure you, if you know any certain expedient of securing preservation for us in case we persevere along with you in this war, that you would explicitly inform us what it is. But if you are convinced in yourselves, that your affairs are irrecoverably distressed, and no other resource remaineth, we then conjure you to make a peace in conjunction with us; since, united with you rather than with any other people in the world, we would gladly earn our preservation. But in case you judge it most advisable for yourselves to continue this war, we beg at least that you would give us permission to make a peace. Let us but save ourselves now, and the time again may come when we may do you some signal acts of friendship. But if now we must be ruined, it is plain we never any more can do you service.”

The Lacedæmonians, after hearing this request, advised the Corinthians by all means to make their peace; and gave permission to any other of their confederates, who were averse from a longer



continuance of the war, to give it up. As to themselves, they said, they would fight it out, "and submit to the will of God; but would never suffer themselves to be deprived of Messene, which they had received from their progenitors." The Corinthians, hearing this, went away to Thebes to negotiate a peace. The Thebans insisted, that "they should swear to an alliance offensive and defensive." The Corinthians answered, that "such a settlement would be no peace, but a mere change of the war;" adding, that "the Thebans should candidly remember, that they came thither only to make an amicable peace." This struck the Thebans with high admiration of them, since, in whatever distress involved, they would not be parties in a war against their old benefactors. They therefore granted a peace to them and to the Phliasians, and to others who now accompanied them at Thebes, on the sole condition that "each party should respectively keep their own;" and oaths were sworn to the observance of it.

The Phliasians, when an accommodation was thus ratified, honestly and without hesitation departed from Thyamia. But the Argives, who had sworn to observe the peace on the very same condition with the Phliasians, when they could not prevail for the safe continuance of the Phliasian exiles at Tricranum, on pretence that the place was their own, seized it, and kept a garrison in it; averring the land on which it stood to be their own property, though a little while ago they had laid it waste in an hostile manner; and



BOOK VII. even refused to submit to a judicial determination, though the Phliasians summoned them to do it.

An aid from  
Dionysius the  
younger.

Almost at the same time, Dionysius the elder being lately dead, his son sendeth over twelve ships, under the command of Timocrates, to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. Timocrates, on his arrival, acteth in conjunction with them at the siege and reduction of Sellasia, and after that sailed back again to Syracuse.

Year before  
Christ 365.  
War between  
the Arcadians  
and Eleans.

No long time after this the Eleans seize upon Lasion, a town formerly their own, but at present comprehended in the Arcadian league. The Arcadians would not calmly brook it, but immediately took the field and marched. Four hundred Eleans at first, who were soon after joined by three hundred more, made head against them. After facing one another a whole day in very low ground belonging to the Eleans, the Arcadians by night ascend the summit of the hill above their enemies, and early next morning rushed down upon them. The Eleans now, perceiving an enemy far more numerous than themselves pouring down upon them from higher ground, were a long time kept in their posts by mere vexation; nay, they even advanced to meet them; yet were no sooner charged, than they broke and fled. They fled over rough and difficult ground, and lost many of their men and many of their arms. The Arcadians, after so much success, marched against all the towns in the upper country; and after taking all of them, except Thraustus, arrive at Olympia. Here they threw up an intrench-



ment round the temple of Saturn, where they posted themselves, and were masters of the mountain of Olympia. They farther took the city of the Marganians, which was betrayed to them by some of the inhabitants. Their enemies having had such a train of success, the Eleans began utterly to despond. And now the Arcadians march up to Elis, and into it as far as to the forum. But then the horsemen and some other of the inhabitants fall upon them, drive them out, and made some slaughter, and erected a trophy. There had been now a dissension of long standing in Elis. The faction of Charopus and Thrasonides and Argeüs were striving to set up a democracy. The faction of Stalcas and Hippias and Stratolus struggled for the oligarchy. And when the Arcadians, with so much strength, seemed to come opportunely thither, as in aid of those who are inclined to a democracy, the faction of Charopus became more daring; and having bargained with the Arcadians for support, they seize the citadel of Elis. The horsemen, and the three hundred, however, lost no time, but march thither immediately and drive them out: in consequence of which, Argeüs and Charopus, with about four hundred Eleans more, were driven out into exile. And no long time after, these exiles, by the aid of a party of Arcadians, possess themselves of Pylus; whither many of the popular faction in Elis repaired afterwards to them, as the place was spacious and of great strength, and where they were certain of support from the Arcadians. The Arcadians also, at the instigation of these exiles, who assured them



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of the quick surrender of Elis, march soon after into the territory of the Eleans. But, on this occasion, the Achæans, who were in friendship with the Eleans, had securely garrisoned their city; so that the Arcadians, unable to do any thing more than lay waste the country, again retreated. But no sooner had they marched out of Elea, and discovered that the Pellenians were in Elis, than they made an exceeding long march in the night, and seized Olurus belonging to the latter. The Pellenians had already returned into the alliance of the Lacedæmonians. And they no sooner heard of the seizure of Olurus, than marching a round-about way, the better to conceal their motion, they entered their own city Pellene. And, after this, they continued a war against the Arcadians in Olurus, and all the people of Arcadia, notwithstanding their own great inferiority in number; nay, never slackened in their endeavours, till they had again recovered Olurus by a siege.

Year before  
Christ 364.

The Arcadians once more repeat their expedition against Elis. But, as they lay encamped between Cyllene and Elis, the Eleans make a sudden attack upon them: the Arcadians stood it out, and got the victory. And Andromachus, the Elean commander, who was the principal adviser of this last attack, laid violent hands upon himself; the rest of the Eleans retired into their city. Soclidas, a Spartan, who was present in this battle, lost his life in it; for the Lacedæmonians were once more allies to the Eleans. But the Eleans, now distressed about their own defence, despatched



ambassadors, and begged the Lacedæmonians to make war upon the Arcadians; judging there was no other method to get clear of the Arcadians, than to have them warred upon on both sides. In consequence of this, Archidamus taketh the field with the domestic force of Sparta, and seizeth Cromnus. Leaving three of the twelve battalions he had with them to garrison Cromnus, he again marched back to Sparta. The Arcadians, however, whose forces were all assembled for the expedition against Elis, hurried away to recover Cromnus, and invested it round with a double work of circumvallation; and having thus secured their own camp, continued in the siege of the place. The state of Lacedæmon, unable to brook this besieging of their own citizens, order their troops to march; and on this occasion also, Archidamus commanded. Entering their country, he laid waste as much of Arcadia and Skiritis as he possibly could, and did every thing that could be done to force them to raise the siege. Yet the Arcadians persisted steadfastly in it, and made no manner of account of all these devastations. Archidamus now took a view of an eminence, across which the Arcadians had carried their outward circumvallation. He thought he could secure it; and, in case he did, that the enemy below it could not continue their siege. Whilst he was marching his troops a round-about way to seize this post, the targeteers of Archidamus advancing before the rest, had a view of the chosen body of the enemy without the works, and rush suddenly upon them; and the horse at the same time en-



BOOK VII.  deavoured to charge. The enemy scorned to retreat, but drew up in regular order, and stood quiet. They then rushed a second time upon them: and when yet, so far from retiring, they actually advanced to meet them; every thing now being in hurry and confusion, Archidamus himself, who had made a turn into the cart-way that leadeth to Cromnus, appeared in sight, his men marching two by two in the order they had set out, and himself at their head. When they were thus come near the enemy, those under Archidamus with their flanks exposed in consequence of the order of their march, but the Arcadians in regular array for battle, and their shields closed firmly together, the Lacedæmonians were not able to stand their ground against this body of Arcadians; but, on the contrary, Archidamus had soon received a wound quite through his thigh, and the two Spartans who fought before him were actually slain. These were Polyanidas and Chilon; the latter of whom had married the sister of Archidamus. Nay, the number of Spartans slain on this occasion was not less than thirty. Yet when, after falling back along the road, they were gotten into more open ground, the Lacedæmonians then formed again to receive the enemy. The Arcadians stood firm together in regular order; inferior, it is true, in numbers, but much higher in spirits, since they had fallen upon their enemy whilst retreating before them and made some slaughter. The Lacedæmonians were sadly dejected; they saw that Archidamus was wounded; they heard the names of those who



were slain, brave men, and almost the most illustrious of their body. And now, the enemy approaching nearer, one of the elder Spartans cried out aloud—"Why fight any longer, my countrymen? Why not rather demand a truce?" He was heard with pleasure by all, and a truce was made. Accordingly, the Lacedæmonians took up their dead and marched away; and the Arcadians, returning to the spot from whence they first advanced, erected a trophy.

Whilst the Arcadians were thus employed in the siege of Cromnus, the Eleans marching out of their city, first against Pylus, fall in with the Pylians, who were on their return, after their repulse, from Thalami. The Elean horsemen, who rode in the van, had no sooner a sight of them, than they seized the opportunity and immediately fall in amongst them. Some of them they slaughter, whilst others of them flee for safety to an eminence that was near; but when the foot came up, they entirely defeat those upon the eminence: some of them they killed, and some they took prisoners, to the number of two hundred. So many of the latter as were strangers they sold for slaves; and so many as were exiles on record they put to the sword. And, after this, as nobody came to the aid of the Pylians, they reduce them, town and all, and recover the Marganians.

But the Lacedæmonians some time after, marching by night towards Cromnus, force their way over the circumvallation, in the quarter of the Argives, and called out such of the Lacedæmonians as were besieged in the place. So many of them



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as happened to be near at hand and lost no time, completed their escape; but the rest, being prevented by the Arcadians, who soon ran together in numbers to the place of escape, were again shut up within; and, being afterwards taken prisoners, were divided amongst the captors: the Argives had one part of them; the Thebans another; the Arcadians another; and the Messenians had a fourth. The whole number of Spartans and neighbours to Sparta taken prisoners on this occasion was more than an hundred.

Gallant behaviour of the Eleans.

The Arcadians, who had now cleared their hands of Cromnus, turned their attention again towards the Eleans, and not only strengthened their garrison at Olympia, but, as it was the Olympic year, made all needful preparation to celebrate the Olympic games in conjunction with the Pisans, who aver themselves to have been the original guardians of the Temple. When, therefore, the month was come in which the Olympic games are celebrated; nay, on the very days of the grand assembly, the Eleans, who had made open preparations for the purpose, and had sent for the Achæans to join them, came marching along the road to Olympia. The Arcadians had never imagined they would dare to give them any interruption, and, jointly with the Pisans, were conducting the order of the festival. They had already finished the race of chariots and the foot-race of the pentathlon, and the wrestlers had just entered the lists, not indeed on the course, since, on this occasion, they were to wrestle between the course and the altar; for the Eleans, in military





array, were now come up to the <sup>d</sup>sacred Grove. The Arcadians, however, made no advance towards them, but stood drawn up by the river Cladaus, which, running along the Altis, dischargeth itself into the Alpheus. Their confederates were also at hand to the number of about two thousand heavy-armed Argives, and about four hundred Athenian horse. The Eleans drew up in order on the other side of the river, and, after a solemn sacrifice, advanced to the charge. And thus a people, who, in preceding times, had been contemned by the Arcadians and Argives, contemned also by the Achæans and Athenians for the want of martial spirit, marched, however, that day at the head of their confederates in the most gallant manner. The Arcadians, for these were the first they charged, they instantly put to flight; they then stood the attack of the Argives, who ran to aid the Arcadians, and gave them a defeat. And, after they had pursued the fleers to the spot of ground that lieth between the council-house and the temple of Vesta and the adjacent theatre, they still fought on and drove them to the very altar. Here, after being galled by darts and javelins from the porticoes and the council-house, and the great temple, and fought with again on the level ground, a number of Eleans was slain, amongst whom was Stratolus, the commander of the three hundred; after which they retreated to their own camp. The Arcadians, however, and their associates, were in so much dread of the ensuing day, that they

<sup>d</sup> The Altis.



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busied themselves all that night in demolishing the fine pavilions they had erected for the festival, and throwing up a rampart for their better defence. And, next day, when the Eleans perceived that the work was strong, and that numbers had posted themselves upon the temples, they marched back to Elis, after showing themselves such gallant men, as God, by particular inspiration, can in one day enable men to be, though all human endeavours could not have made them such even in a long course of time.

Year before  
Christ 363.

The Arcadian commanders were now laying hands on the sacred treasures, and diverting them to the payment of their chosen bands, which the Mantineans first resented, and sent them an order “not thus to embezzle the sacred treasure.” Nay, they even raised in their own city what pay was due to those chosen bands, and sent it to the Arcadian commanders. The latter, however, alleged that “such a behaviour was an infraction of the Arcadian league,” and appealed against it to the council of ten thousand. But, as the Mantineans slighted this appeal, the others proceeded to a judgment against them, and despatched the chosen bands to apprehend such persons as they had condemned by name. Upon this the Mantineans made fast their gates, and refused them admittance into their city. The consequence was, that even some of the other members of the council of ten thousand began also to affirm, that “it was wrong to embezzle in this manner the sacred treasures, and to fix an eternal stain on their posterity by such sacrilege



“ against the gods.” At length it was voted in the council, that “ these sacred treasures should “ not be embezzled ;” and then all such persons in the chosen bands as could not subsist without immediate pay slipped away from the service ; and such as had a subsistence, after heartening up one another, entered themselves in these chosen bands, not indeed to be commanded, but to secure to themselves the command over them. Such also of the commanders as had dabbled most in the sacred treasure, being aware that their lives were in danger should they be called to a strict account, send messengers to Thebes, and give notice to the Thebans, that “ unless they march up an “ army, the danger is great that the Arcadians “ will again go over to the Lacedæmonians.” The Thebans accordingly were getting all things in readiness to take the field. Such persons, however, as were in their hearts true friends to Peloponnesus, persuaded the Arcadian state to despatch ambassadors to the Thebans with a notification to them “ by no means to march with their forces “ into Arcadia till they were formally invited.” Nay, they not only notified this to the Thebans, but also came to a resolution amongst themselves, that “ there was no need of war.” They were now also convinced, that they had no manner of pretence to invade the presidency over the temple of Jove, but, by restoring it to the Eleans, should act with more piety and justice, and, without doubt, in a manner more acceptable to the god.



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A peace between the Eleans and Arcadians, at which the Thebans are angry, and seize Tegea.

The Eleans were willing to accommodate affairs, and so both parties resolved upon a peace. A truce immediately ensued. And, after the peace was sworn to, not only by all the other parties, but by the Tegeatæ also, and even by the Theban officer, who was then in Tegea commanding four hundred heavy-armed Bœotians, such of the Arcadians as at that time were resident in Tegea feasted one another and were full of spirits, pouring forth their libations, and singing their pæans, as rejoicing for a peace. The Thebans, however, and such of the commanders as were apprehensive of being called to account for the sacred treasures, assisted by the Bœotians and their accomplices amongst the chosen bands, shut fast the gates of the wall round Tegea, and sending parties to their several lodgings, seized all the men of consequence who were not of their sentiments. As many people were here from every city in Arcadia, all of them highly delighted at the making of peace, the number seized in this manner must needs be very considerable. The public prison was soon filled with them; the town-house, in like manner, was filled as soon. After many persons were thus secured, and many had escaped by leaping over the wall, others there were who were let out through the gates, since no one acted with fury on this occasion that did not think his own life in danger. But, after all, the Theban officer and his accomplices were soon reduced to the greatest perplexity, when they found they had gotten into their hands but very few of those whom they chiefly desired



to secure, and especially of the Mantineans, since BOOK VII.  
almost all the Mantineans had returned in good  
time to Mantinea, as it lay at so little distance  
from Tegea.

Upon the return of day, the Mantineans no sooner knew what had been doing, than they despatched their messengers round to the cities of Arcadia, with notice to them to take to their arms and stand on the defence of their cities. They themselves did so at Mantinea; and, sending at the same time to Tegea, demanded such of their citizens as were detained in that city; insisting withal, that “no Arcadian whatsoever should be  
“ thrown into prison or put to death, before he  
“ had undergone a legal trial; and, in case any  
“ Mantineans were accused of a criminal behaviour,  
“ let their names be sent hither, and the state of  
“ Mantinea would pledge their faith to produce  
“ such persons in the public council of Arcadia,  
“ whenever they were called upon to do it.”  
The Theban officer, hearing all this, was grievously perplexed in what manner to act, and, in short, delivereth up all the men. The day after he had a meeting with as many of the Arcadians as were willing to meet him, and said, in his justification, that “he had been sadly deluded.” He affirmed  
“ information had been given him, that the Lace-  
“ dæmonians were assembled in arms upon the  
“ frontier, and that some Arcadians had engaged  
“ to betray Tegea to them.” They, indeed, gave him the hearing, and, though assured that all he said was false, they let him depart. Yet they despatched ambassadors after him to Thebes, and

Epaminondas  
justifies the  
treachery.



## BOOK VII.



preferred such a charge against him as might cost him his life. But they say that Epaminondas, who was then general of the state, made this declaration to them, that “the Theban officer did  
 “his duty better when he seized these persons  
 “than when he set them at liberty. For we  
 “Thebans, said he, went into a war purely on  
 “your account, whereas you have clapped up a  
 “peace without consulting us at all; may not  
 “any one, therefore, consistently with justice,  
 “charge all the treachery in this affair upon you?  
 “But rest assured (he went on), that we shall  
 “soon march our forces into Arcadia, and will  
 “still continue the war with the assistance of  
 “such as remain in the same sentiments with  
 “ourselves.”

Recommence-  
 ment of the war.

No sooner was this declaration of Epaminondas reported to the general-council of Arcadia and to the several cities, than it struck the reflection into the Mantineans and such other Arcadians as were friends to the true welfare of Peloponnesus, as also into the Eleans and Achæans, that “it was  
 “plainly the design of the Thebans to reduce  
 “Peloponnesus to so low a condition, that they  
 “might easily enslave it. For what other view  
 “can they have in desiring us to continue the  
 “war, than to make us harrass and distress one  
 “another, that both parties may be obliged to  
 “court them for assistance? For what other  
 “reason can they be preparing to march their  
 “army amongst us, when we tell them plainly  
 “we want them not at present? Is it not as clear  
 “as the day, that they are preparing to take the



“field with full purpose to do us mischief?” They now sent away to Athens to beg an aid. They sent to Lacedæmon also an embassy consisting of persons enrolled in their chosen bands, with earnest entreaties to the Lacedæmonians, “readily to join their forces against such as are coming with a full design to enslave Peloponnesus.” The point of command was also finally adjusted, that each people should command within their own territory.

Whilst these points were in agitation, Epaminondas took the field at the head of all the Bœotians and Eubœans and numerous bodies of Thessalians, sent either by Alexander, or such as were enemies to him. The Phocians, however, marched not with him, pretending “they were obliged, by treaty, only to give aid in case an enemy invaded Thebes; to act offensively with them against other states was no condition in the treaty.” Epaminondas reckoned, that in Peloponnesus he should assuredly be joined by the Argives and Messenians, and such Arcadians as were in the interest of Thebes; for instance, the Tegeatæ and Megalapolitans, and Ascataæ, and Palantians, and some other cities which, because they were surrounded by the greater states, would be compelled to join them. Epaminondas, accordingly, advanced towards Peloponnesus with the utmost expedition. But, when he came up to Nemea he halted there, hoping he might intercept the Athenians in their march, and reckoning that such an incident would have a great effect in raising the spirits of his own confederates, and

Year before  
Christ 362.  
Epaminondas  
takes the field.



BOOK VII. would strike despondency into his foes: at all events, that lessening the Athenians in any degree, would be so much positive advantage to the Thebans. But, during his halt at Nemea, all the states of Peloponnesus that acted with unanimity on this occasion, assembled together at Mantinea. Epaminondas, however, had no sooner heard that the Athenians had given up their design of marching by land, and were preparing to pass over by sea, that they might go through Lacedæmon to the aid of the Arcadians, than he immediately decamped from Nemea, and advanceth to Tegea.

His fine conduct.

For my own part, I shall not take upon me to say that this expedition proved a happy one for him. But this I can affirm, that he was not deficient in exhibiting every proof that man can give of bravery and conduct. In the first place, I highly applaud him for encamping his troops within the walls of Tegea. For there he was posted in much greater security than he could have been on open ground, and all his motions were much better concealed from the enemy; since within a city he could much easier be supplied with any article he wanted; and, as his enemies lay in open ground, he had a full view of what they were doing, could see when they were right and when they blundered. And, though he thought himself superior to the enemy, yet he never led out his troops against them, so long as he judged they had the advantage in ground. But, finding at length that not one city came over to him, and that the time of his command was fast elapsing, he judged it necessary to strike



a blow; since otherwise he foresaw the loss of all his former glory. When, therefore, he was informed that the enemy kept close at Mantinea, and had sent for Agesilaus and all the Lacedæmonians; and was even assured that Agesilaus was marched out at their head, and was already advanced as far as Pellene; he ordered his army to take their repast, then gave the signal for a march, and led them on directly against Sparta. And had not a Cretan, by an especial providence, made away in all haste to Agesilaus and told him of this march, he would have taken Sparta like a bird's nest quite destitute of all defence. But, as timely notice of his march had been given to Agesilaus, he had returned in time to the aid of the city; and the Spartans, though exceeding few in number, had already posted themselves on its guard. The whole of their cavalry was absent in Arcadia, as were all their auxiliaries, and three out of their ten battalions of foot. When, therefore, Epaminondas was come up to Sparta, he made no attempt to enter the city, where the enemy could have charged him on level ground, or could annoy him with darts and javelins from the tops of houses, or where the ground might enable a few to be a match for far superior numbers. But, having seized an eminence, which he judged would give him great advantage, he from thence marched down, instead of marching up, into Sparta. The sequel was of so strange a nature, that we may either ascribe it to the especial will of God, or confess that men, reduced to a state of desperation, are not to be resisted. For no sooner did



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Archidamus lead on against him, though attended by not one hundred persons; no sooner, I say, had Archidamus passed the river, which, in all probability, must have greatly delayed him, and advanced towards the enemy, than these Thebans, who breathed out fire and flame, who had gained such victories over the Lacedæmonians, who were now so far superior in numbers, and had all the advantage of higher ground, durst not even stand the charge of those under Archidamus, but wheel themselves off from before him; and the soldiers of Epaminondas, who formed the first ranks, are immediately slain. Exulting at so much success, the victors pursued them farther than was prudent, and are slaughtered in their turn. It looked as if Heaven had beforehand settled the limits in which each party should be victorious. Archidamus, however, erected a trophy on the spot where he had gotten the better, and gave up, under truce, the bodies of the enemy who had fallen there.

Epaminondas now bethought himself, that, as the Arcadians would come with all speed to the aid of Sparta, it was not his business to fight with them and the whole Lacedæmonian strength in conjunction; especially as the enemy had hitherto been successful, and the contrary had happened to his own troops. He therefore marched off, and returned again with the utmost expedition to Tegea. He here ordered the heavy-armed to halt, but sent off the horse to Mantinea; begging them “to perform this service with their utmost perseverance;” and telling them, “it was likely



“ that all the cattle of the Mantineans were out  
“ abroad in the fields, and all the people too,  
“ especially in this season of fetching in their  
“ harvest.” And, accordingly, they began the  
march.

The Athenian horsemen, who had set out from Eleusis, took their evening repast at the Isthmus. From thence continuing their march through Cleone, they had just now reached Mantinea, and were quartering themselves in houses within the walls. So soon, therefore, as the enemy was seen riding up, the Mantineans besought these Athenian horse to give them all possible aid, “ since all their  
“ flocks and herds were abroad in the fields, as  
“ were all their labourers and most of the youths  
“ and old men of the city.” The Athenians complied, and sally out immediately, though neither themselves nor their horses had yet tasted any food. Who, on this occasion, can help admiring the generosity of these men, who, with an enemy in sight much superior in number to their own, and with the late blow given at Corinth to their cavalry quite fresh in their remembrance, were not however disheartened, no not even at the thought that they were going to engage with Thebans and Thessalians, at that time reckoned the best horsemen in the world; but, disdaining that their friends should suffer through the want of any assistance that themselves could give them, they were no sooner in sight of the enemy, than they rode full speed upon them, desirous to preserve, at all events, their hereditary glory? In this manner they engaged; and, by engaging, preserved



## BOOK VII.

every thing belonging to the Mantineans that was abroad in the fields. But several gallant men amongst them perished; and they killed as many gallant men on the side of the enemy: for not one person on either side had a weapon so short but it was long enough to reach his adversary. They took up the dead bodies of their friends, and restored some dead bodies of their enemies by truce.

Epaminondas was now reflecting, that “he must  
“ needs be gone in a few days, since the time  
“ limited for this expedition was just expiring;  
“ and, in case he now abandoned his allies whom  
“ he came to save, they would be besieged and  
“ reduced by their adversaries, and he should  
“ entirely blemish all his former glory; defeated  
“ with his numerous heavy-armed as he had been  
“ at Lacedæmon by a handful of men; defeated  
“ also at Mantinea in the engagement of the horse;  
“ and the author, as he had really proved by this  
“ expedition into Peloponnesus, of a fresh coalition  
“ of Lacedæmonians and Arcadians, and Achæans,  
“ and Eleans, and Athenians.” He therefore  
judged it impossible for him to quit the country  
without fighting a battle; concluding, “in case  
“ he was victorious, he should prevent all the  
“ great evils he foresaw; or, in case he fell in the  
“ attempt, his death would be honourable and  
“ glorious, since he was endeavouring to gain for  
“ his own country the sovereignty of Pelopon-  
“ nesus.” It cannot appear in the least surprising  
to me, that Epaminondas should reason in such a  
manner. Men greedy of honour are aptest to



encourage such thoughts as these. But, what excites my surprise and admiration too is this; that he had so highly ingratiated himself with the troops he commanded, that no toil whatever, either by day or by night, could at all fatigue them; no danger whatever could stop them; and, though straitened for want of necessary provisions, that they should execute all his orders with prompt alacrity. For at last, when he issued his final orders for all to get ready, since he was determined to fight, the horsemen at a word were cleaning up their helmets. The heavy-armed Arcadians, who carried clubs, were also enrolled and mustered as Thebans; and all of them, to a man, were busied in sharpening their spears and their swords, and brightening their shields.

But, when they were all ready, and he was for leading them towards the enemy, it is worth while to observe the particulars of his conduct. In the first place, he made all the dispositions as one would expect Epaminondas should make them; and, by his manner of doing it, showed plainly to every body that he was preparing in earnest for a battle. And, when his army was completely formed to his own liking, he then led on, not indeed directly towards the enemy, but declining towards the mountains on the west beyond the city of Tegea. By this he gave his enemies reason to imagine, that he had no design to fight that day. For, when he came near the mountain, after he had formed his main army in a line of battle, he ordered them to ground their arms under the shelter of the eminence; so that he

The battle of  
Mantineia.



## BOOK VII.

yielded to his enemies the appearance of a general who was for encamping his army. But, by acting in this manner, he caused the bulk of his enemies to relax in the ardour they had conceived for engaging; he caused them even to quit the ranks in which they were posted. Yet, no sooner had he made some bands of heavy-armed in the wings to march up and take post in the centre, by which he made the part of the army where he was posted himself as strong as the beak of a ship, than he gave the word for recovering their arms. He now again led on, and his army was in march. As for the enemy, who quite unexpectedly saw them thus advancing, they were at once all hurry and precipitation. Some were running to fall into their ranks, some were only forming; the horsemen were bridling their horses and putting on their breast-plates; and they all had the appearance of men who were rather to suffer from than to hurt their foes.

Epaminondas was still advancing with his troops, which resembled a ship of war bearing down to the attack, assured that, on whatever part of the enemy's army he made his first effectual push, he must bear down before him, and throw the whole into utter disorder. For his previous disposition was such, that he must begin the charge with the prime strength of his troops; the weakest of them he had posted in the rear; knowing that even the latter, if defeated, would strike terror into his own people, and give additional spirit to the enemy. The enemy, on the other side, had drawn up their horse like a battalion of heavy-armed, without



giving them a proper depth, or lining them with foot; whereas Epaminondas had so formed his, that their attack must needs make the strongest impression: and he had lined their ranks with parties of foot; assured that, in whatever part they broke through the enemy, their whole body must, at once, be vanquished. For exceeding difficult it is to preserve a willingness in any part of a body to stand fast, when they see some of that body in actual flight. And, to prevent the Athenians from stirring out of the left wing to aid such as were near them, he had posted over-against them on the higher ground a party of horse and heavy-armed; intending to frighten them by this show of the danger they must run of being attacked in their rear, if they stirred to give aid to others.

In this manner he had made his dispositions for the attack; and he was not disappointed in the event he expected. For he made his first charge with so much force, that he compelled the whole body of the enemy to flee before him. But, after Epaminondas dropped, there was no one left who could make a proper use of the victory. For, though the whole of the enemy was in flight before them, his heavy-armed made no slaughter, not even of a single foe, nor made any advance in the field of battle beyond the spot where they first attacked. And, though the enemy's horse were also in open flight, his own horse slew neither horsemen nor heavy-armed in their pursuit; but, like men who had been vanquished, slipped tremblingly out of the way of their routed enemies.

Epaminondas  
killed.



## BOOK VII.

His foot, indeed, and targeteers, who had engaged along with the horse, advanced quite up to the left wing of the enemy, as masters of the field of battle; and there most of them were put to the sword by the Athenians.

Such was this battle; the event of which was quite contrary to what all the world expected it must be. For, as almost all Greece was assembled together on this occasion to fight a decisive action against one another, there was no man but thought that, after such a battle, the conquerors would remain for ever masters, and the conquered must for ever be subject to them; whereas God so ordered the event, that both parties erected trophies as claiming the victory, and neither side could hinder the erection of them. Both parties again, as conquerors, restored the dead under truce; both parties too, as conquered, requested a truce for the delivery of them. Nay, though both parties gave out that the victory was their own, it was manifest that neither of them had gained any more ground, any other city, or any more dominion, than they were masters of before the battle. On the contrary, a greater confusion and a wilder hurry arose in Greece after this battle than had been known before it.

So far may suffice for me. Others, perhaps, will take care to relate what happened afterwards in Greece.

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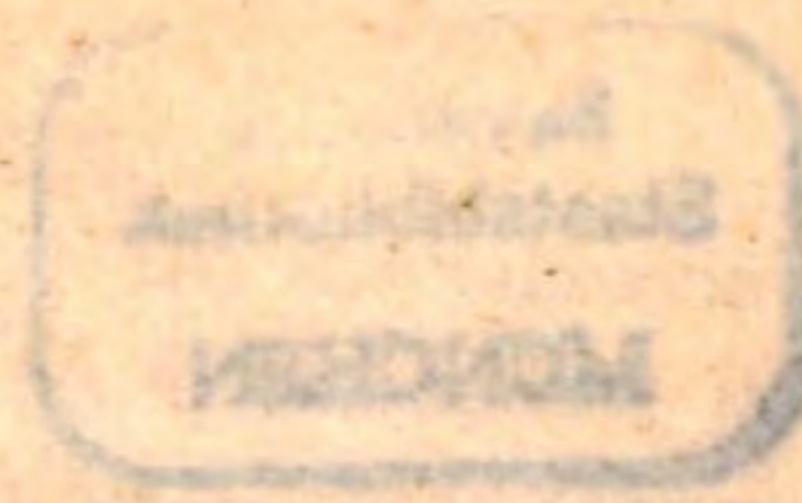
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THE END























